

A PUBLISHER'S PARADISE

EXPATRIATE LITERARY CULTURE IN PARIS, 1890–1960

Colette Colligan

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A PUBLISHER'S PARADISE



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Expatriate Literary Culture in Paris, 1890–1960

COLETTE COLLIGAN

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A Michele Vettorazzo
che ha allargato i miei orizzonti

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INTRODUCTION

It has been the custom of some Englishmen, who trade in indecent books, when for obvious reasons they leave England and take up their abode in Paris, to continue selling these indecent books, etc., by means of circulars which they forward to England from Paris. One of the most notorious of these figures is Carrington, probably known to many of our readers through circulars which they have received relating to objectionable books bearing his signature.

—"The Work in France," *Vigilance Record* (March 1902)

From 1890 to 1960 some of Anglo-America's most heated cultural contests over books, sex, and censorship were staged not at home, but abroad in the City of Light. Paris became a haven for interrogating and reimagining the margins of sexual culture and literary expression, and a wide variety of English "dirty books" circulated through loose expatriate publishing and distribution networks. The writers, publishers, printers, booksellers, and readers who were part of this expatriate print culture came and went, but the social and material infrastructures of their networks remained in place as long as such books could not be published elsewhere. It is difficult to generalize about the type of book that circulated through these networks, and equally difficult to generalize about the people involved because of the wide gaps in their economic, social, and symbolic capital as well as their aesthetic and political points of view. And yet it is possible to trace six degrees of separation between the person responsible for a late-Victorian book with the provocative title *Randiana, or Excitable Tales* and the publisher of Valerie Solanas's rage-infused lesbian feminist *SCUM Manifesto* from the late 1960s.

At the end of the 1890s, an expatriate British publisher in Paris who went by the name Charles Carrington clandestinely issued books with enticing titles, one being *Randiana.* In 1901 Carrington bought the copyright to Oscar Wilde's infamous Decadent novel *The Picture of Dorian Gray* after it was dropped by its British publisher following Wilde's trial for "gross indecency," and he distributed it through the same networks as *Randiana.* Carrington's Paris edition of *The Picture of Dorian Gray* continued to circulate in these networks in Paris during the first decades of the twentieth century. When the American bookseller Sylvia Beach opened up her bookshop Shakespeare and Company on the Left Bank in 1919, she not only stocked Carrington's edition of Wilde's novel, but also supplied the Irish writer James Joyce with English-language pornography issued by Carrington and his successors. While writing the last episodes of *Ulysses* in Paris, Joyce drew on some of these publications by speciously named authors (the likes of James Lovebirch and Barbary Birchenough), incorporating them into his modernist masterpiece in varying modes of citation, parody, adaptation, and intertextuality. Subsequently branded as "obscene" in Britain and America, *Ulysses* was ultimately published in Paris by Beach in 1922. In the late 1920s, Joyce's *Ulysses* and Paris piracies of D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* ended up on Britain's Customs list of banned French books. That predicament not only provoked Evelyn Waugh to open his 1930 novel *Vile Bodies* with the scene of a British Customs officer seizing what he assumes are "pretty dirty" books from Paris and taking them into an inner office filled with "contraband pornography and strange instruments," but also gave Beach's British friend Jack Kahane the idea in the early 1930s to market himself as a renegade who would publish from Paris anything banned in Britain. Over thirty years later, Kahane's son Maurice Girodias reminisced about taking over his father's publishing business, which he eventually split into London and New York branches in the 1960s when Paris was no longer the capital of the English "d.b." (dirty book). "I am a second-generation Anglo-French pornographer," Girodias wrote, adding, "I suppose that, between the two of us, my father and I have covered a lot of ground, from James Joyce's *Haveth Childers Everywhere* (the first published portion of *Finnegans Wake*) and Henry Miller's *Tropics* in the 1920s and 30s, to Frank Harris's *My Life and Loves* and Valerie Solanas's *SCUM* (Society for Cutting Up Men) *Manifesto* in the 1960s."[1] Girodias published *SCUM Manifesto* in New York, but he had been responsible

just a decade earlier for publishing a vestigial Paris edition—one whose lineage can be traced back to *Randiana* through the Paris networks that trafficked English sex books—a book that no publisher in Britain or America would touch: Vladimir Nabokov's *Lolita.*

I did not begin the research for this book with Paris editions as my central subject, and yet these works and their expatriate publishing and distribution networks gradually became my focus. The convergence of British and American writers and publishers in Paris during the 1920s is the most well-known episode of this publishing history, conjuring ready-made images of Joyce and Ernest Hemingway gathering around Beach's rue de l'Odéon bookshop. Noel Fitch Riley's *Sylvia Beach and the Lost Generation* and Hugh Ford's *Published in Paris* have studied the principal figures from this period, and Woody Allen's 2011 movie *Midnight in Paris* has recently generated yet more nostalgia around America's Paris moment.[2] One can further indulge (for the right price) in the nostalgia of expatriation by visiting the Ritz hotel's refurbished Hemingway Bar, voted by *Forbes* in 2001 as the "best bar in the world." Figures such as Beach, Joyce, and Hemingway appear again and again as historical mascots for literary and sexual modernity, contra-censorship, and political rebellion and engagement, but the repeated turn to this point in time has obscured the true compass of the city's expatriate print culture. Paris editions were a dissident and inchoate publishing phenomenon that extended over seventy years, transversing Wilde's sensational trials in 1895, the First World War, Americans in Paris, the Nazi occupation of France, and Penguin's battle in 1960 to publish *Lady Chatterley's Lover.*[3] A wide variety of people, from fly-by-night smut peddlers to literary giants like Vladimir Nabokov, endorsed these works. Yet the larger history of this publishing phenomenon has never been told: in part because it troubles orderly accounts of national literatures, historical periods, and literary movements; in part because it brought together a transnational medley of writers, publishers, and booksellers who otherwise had little in common; and in part because it may have been deemed best left buried in the archives, undiscovered by the foraging historian. But this troublesome history gradually came into sight before me and brought to the fore the massive personality of Carrington, an expatriate Anglo-Jew who set up his Faubourg Montmartre shop sometime around 1896 to launch his English sex books from abroad.

An observation made by Peter Mendes in his seminal bibliography on *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English,* 1800–1930 was

the initial spark for this book. Mendes claims that by 1910 "the production of English-based clandestine erotic books" came to an end in Britain, "not to re-appear until the post 1945 period."[4] I was curious to know what was behind this contraction of the British pornographic book trade, and initially related it to the twentieth-century visual turn about which Jonathan Crary, Mary Ann Doane, and others have discussed across the disciplines.[5] Advances in print media, color photography, and film that were readily exploited for pornographic purposes had helped shift legal and cultural concepts of pornography to the hard-core image. The coda to my last book, *The Traffic in Obscenity from Byron to Beardsley*, speaks of this technocultural shift that transformed perceptions of the pornographic.[6] But if the pornographic book trade had contracted, how could I account for the fact that literary pornography remained a pressing cultural and political issue in Britain? British home secretaries, including the young Winston Churchill, repeatedly authorized questionable warrants that allowed the postal authorities to open the mail of dealers suspected in trading indecent literature. Joyce's obscenity-laden *Ulysses* was banned in Britain until 1936, and it was not until 1970 that novels like John Cleland's eighteenth-century pornographic classic *Fanny Hill* could be openly published in unexpurgated editions without the risk of prosecution.[7] Perhaps it was a case of Britons having to get used to sexual descriptions in literature: modernist writers were involved in aesthetic experimentation *and* management in their attempts to include the pornographic into British literature, as Allison Pease argues.[8] Or perhaps this preoccupation with literary pornography was a case of over-literate politicians and legislators who thought more about safeguarding the nation's literary reputation than understanding the real technocultural and economic shifts in pornography.

But while thinking through this discrepancy between the contraction of the pornographic book trade in Britain and the heightened cultural concern about pornography, censorship, and literary merit, I realized that there was in fact still a thriving business in "dirty books" in English. This business, however, was conducted across the Channel, something I only recognized while undertaking extended research at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris. I found myself surprised by the number of pornographic books in English that were included in its infamous *Enfer* (literally translated as "hell") collection established under Napoleon.

Many naughty titles grab the attention of the anglophone reader: *Randiana, The Initiation of Aurora Trill, Memoirs of a Russian Ballet Girl, Memoirs of Dolly Morton, Padlocks & Girdles of Chastity, Sheaves from an Old Escritoire, The Spirit of Flagellation, The Story of a Dildoe,* and *The Untrodden Fields of Anthropology.* A browse through the 1913 bibliography of *L'Enfer de la Bibliothèque nationale,* compiled by Guillaume Apollinaire and others, shows that most of these English titles appeared after 1890. This bibliography is incomplete and protective of the identity of dealers who were still active, but further bibliographical inquiry confirms that most of these titles were first published in Paris in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[9]

Working in a foreign library in a different language thus led to the discovery of a secret publishing haven for English pornography, and led me down a research path I might not have taken working with the Private Case collection of pornographic books at the British Library in London. Sometimes it takes being out of place to recognize the real location of culture, and it was my own dislocation that led to one of my book's central discoveries: there was already a preexisting expatriate publishing outpost in Paris as early as the 1890s that established the professional and social infrastructures for later Anglo-American flows of sexually dissident literary production in Paris, from the lost generation to the postwar era.

My primary focus is on the early political and literary history of this publishing paradise and the obscure producers behind Paris editions—the outrageous personalities like Carrington and their rebellion against British legal, social, and cultural life. But I am also interested in uncovering the extended history of this expatriate publishing phenomenon as it attracted different generations of people moving between different exiles and cultures, linked pornography and modernism in overlapping publishing and distribution networks, and gave voice to a significant, if only latent, extranational cultural formation, at least until 1960 when changing cultural politics made outlying production largely redundant.

Paris editions flashed before me, while I was working with the *Enfer* collection, with instant "recognizability" (using the word as Walter Benjamin did to explain historical knowledge as a relation between moments). The challenge since that moment has been how to establish the historical and geographical parameters of this expatriate publishing paradise and map its networks of communication and socialization. This work has not only involved building

an archive from a variety of globally dispersed materials, but has also involved reflecting on historiographic modes. There is, I hope, a productive tension in my scholarship between an empiricist reliance on gathering documents and concrete evidence of the literary past, and an attentiveness to the dialectical and contingent nature of recounting history. This dialectical understanding of history is central to Walter Benjamin's vision of the historical materialist who looks to "brush history against the grain" and locate the anonymous and oppressed of history who may even remain largely undocumented.[10] As Ian Balfour explains, "Virtually all the models that Benjamin offers for history (philological, citation, translation, and critique) take the form of reading, an encounter of one text with another, of one language with another," highlighting the dialectical contingency of historical interpretation and "the temporality of the relation separating the moment of the text from the moment of reading."[11] It is this dialectical approach to history, Benjamin argues, that disrupts a homogenous and inexorable master narrative and shakes loose those minority histories that have not coalesced into a fixed or envisioned story of the past. Surrounding Paris editions are several overlapping minority histories and group formations ready to be shaken loose.

In his writings on history, Benjamin also develops a dialectical image of the past that turns on the "now of recognizability." "It is an irretrievable image of the past," he writes, "which threatens to disappear in any present that does not recognize itself as intended in that image." This is just one of his analogies highlighting how historical knowledge is a relation between moments.[12] I do not share the Frankfurt school's ideological relationship to the past as a struggle against progressive accounts of history that reinforce capitalist economic and social structures, nor do I share the sense that the practice of history is "the reach for the emergency brake."[13] But I am empathetic to Benjamin's alertness to minority history and commitment to "the memory of the anonymous" that lingers in traces and fragments sometimes recoverable through dialectical historiography.[14] Who was this publisher Carrington whose circulars so incensed one British patriarch that he threatened to have him "horsewhipped?"[15] Who were the anonymous Parisian dealers who produced and circulated the flagellation pornography that Joyce cites in *Ulysses*? What were the publishing connections between the debased clandestine pornography from the 1890s and the modernist novels that have been canonized? The rise of cultural

studies has made literary historians more receptive to debased cultural products as well as ephemeral and extranational interactions and exchanges.

More personally, however, I am interested in the "dirty little secret" in the closet of expatriate modernism because of my own empathies with the dissident currents in literary culture and the anonymous people who turn history.[16] My investment in researching Carrington's life and career, for example, is deeply rooted in my own personal history—growing up in the shadow of my mother's little sex shop, called "The Love Nest," in Vancouver. My mother, the mastermind behind it, was a single-minded entrepreneur who rose from rags to riches with her message of sexual libertinism and Dr. Ruth feminism. Like Charles Carrington, she was a misfit with a knack for corralling big ideas and oddballs. Finding Carrington has involved grappling with my own "culture ghosts" as much as it has resulted in uncovering the history of this eccentric expatriate publisher who helped make Paris an oasis for people and books from abroad.

The Victorian writer who went by the name Vernon Lee (née Violet Paget) coined the term "culture ghost," which is another temporal figure for our engagement with the past. The figure of the culture ghost appears in her short story "A Wicked Voice" (1890), which treats an artist's possession by an unwanted historical source. The protagonist Magnus finds himself in Venice while he is trying to compose savage, funereal Wagnerian music, but his efforts keep getting interrupted by a strange embellished voice from the past, which totally dominates both him and his art. The inspiration for the story came from a portrait of the eighteenth-century Italian castrato singer Farinelli. Lee and the painter John Singer Sargent used to stare spellbound at his portrait hanging in the music school in Bologna. Lee called this kind of source "a culture ghost."[17] I see Lee's culture ghost as a figure that complements Benjamin's notions of the "now of recognizability" and the dialectical image of the past. It evokes the suppressed currents in culture that haunt us still, sometimes troublesomely so. Lee's story in particular reflects on the source that both fascinates and repulses the artist-historian. What does it mean to be possessed by certain sources, especially those that also repulse? While reading some of the more racist and sexist publications (the stock and trade of much pornography) that circulated as Paris editions, I was fascinated by the books and people behind this dissident publishing phenomenon and also repelled by the some of the extreme boundaries of that dissidence.

In addition to the "now of recognizability," I have also been aware of what I call the "location of recognizability." Ironically the location of recognizability is one of dislocation, both for my subject and myself as researcher and historian. At least since the nineteenth century, Paris has functioned as an international meeting place that has brokered different moments of political and social recognition for foreigners. Benjamin referred to Paris as "the capital of the nineteenth century,"[18] whereas Raymond Williams described interwar Paris as a city that offered "a complexity and a sophistication of social relations" along with "exceptional liberties of expression" which allowed "small groups in any form of divergence or dissent . . . find some kind of foothold."[19] More recently, Brent Hayes Edwards and Brooke L. Blower have written eloquently about the way in which the city served as a transnational space of interaction for different expressions of black diaspora and American internationalism during the 1920s and 1930s.[20] The overexposure of these decades, however, has obscured the ways in which Paris was a center of expatriate literary sociability and production both before and after this point in time. In the case of the English sex book, these expatriate convergences extended from *Randiana* to Vladimir Nabokov's novel *Lolita*—from Victorian pornography to late modernism, from British literature to Russian American literature.

I have recuperated the figure of the expatriate and the concept of expatriation in order to discuss a specific kind of transnational interaction that developed around this publishing outpost in Paris. Expatriation tends to be associated with nostalgic visions of Paris built up especially in the late 1940s and early 1950s, as in Samuel Putnam's memoir on *Paris Was Our Mistress* (1947). But expatriation embodies a more complex model of encounter and interaction abroad that is suggestive of an interstitial social and cultural practice.[21] Expatriation is a matter of choice and seems to include the option of leaving one's nation and returning to it, an option that is not available for exiles, refugees, or diasporic groups forcibly expelled from their homelands. Expatriates, according to Edward Said, "voluntarily live in an alien country, usually for personal or social reasons." But the expatriate condition is also more complex than Said admits. Historically the term has vacillated between leaving by choice and being banished, suggesting a turning away, from nation, social group, or cultural life that encompasses both the freewheeling migrations of the cosmopolitan jet-setter and the forced wanderings of the exile.[22]

Expatriate literary exchanges in Paris should also be understood

as distinct from other forms of expatriation elsewhere in the world. Expatriates in former British colonies such as Hong Kong formed privileged enclaves in clubs and societies, but the expatriate publishing and distribution networks behind Paris editions were more transnational in their make-up.[23] They attracted a motley group of people over a seventy-year period who as visitors, immigrants, avant-garde writers, homosexuals, sex radicals, Jews, and criminals had discrepant grudges and frustrations from the margins of history, as well as different access to social, economic, and cultural capital. People like Carrington, Wilde, Joyce, Hall, Beach, Kahane, and Nabokov did not have a lot in common except that they were expatriates. From these margins there was no distinct filament of expression and no particular desire to link across difference.[24] Nevertheless, these recurring expatriate gatherings and scatterings around Paris editions should not simply be seen as individual flights to Paris and romps abroad, but as moments of extranational cultural formation in opposition to Anglo-American national culture. Edward Said's work on such migrations between cultures, albeit more attuned to imperial structures and contests, highlights "interdependent histories" and "overlapping domains." Said develops comparative and contrapuntal methods useful for understanding these expatriate encounters and collisions in Paris and is compatible with Benjamin's dialectical historiography intent on rooting out the forgotten, outcast, and oppressed in history.[25]

Had I not been researching in Paris, as I mentioned, the history of Paris editions might not have flashed into sight and become the focus of my book. My own sense of dislocation and difference in a foreign library heightened my sensitivity to the familiar presence of English books in the *Enfer* collection and the publishing paradise that sustained them—both activating and mediating this history as social-network theorist Bruno Latour might add.[26] This sense of dislocation, which is perhaps at the heart of comparative and contrapuntal historiography, has meant being attentive to the language of accents, the use of foreign words and materials, the aims of translation, the comings and goings, the books and bodies lost and damaged in transit and translation, and the costs and opportunities of a life lived abroad. It has also meant dealing with dispersed, incomplete, incorrect, fraudulent, damaged, or nonexistent source materials in at least two different languages and trying to articulate an archive from these disparate sources. Many of the expatriate dealers who distributed Paris editions around the turn of the century were unregistered

and undocumented, and even some native French dealers, such as the publisher-bookseller Charles Hirsch, were swept away from history during the Nazi occupation. The books themselves are often just as difficult to locate, particularly the clandestine publications issued from Sadopolis, Cosmpopoli, and Carnopolis.[27] This sense of dislocation has also meant paying close attention to contemporaneous memoirs and reflections on Paris editions, allowing the voices of the actors to speak to and from these expatriate sensibilities, as Latour advises in his work on social networks.[28] Hirsch's "Notice bibliographique" on the homosexual novel *Teleny,* Lawrence's essay on the Paris piracies of *Lady Chatterley's Lover,* George Orwell's review of Henry Miller's nostalgia for the 1920s in *Tropic of Cancer,* and Vladimir Nabokov's strong opinions on the shackles of writing in a "second-rate brand of English" in *Lolita* are therefore all, in my view, "words from abroad" (to quote Theodor Adorno) which light up the history of Paris editions in different moments of recognizability and in flitting historiographic cues.[29]

Benjamin's essays on history, which have influenced my approach to the history of Paris editions, were written in Paris when he was in exile from Nazi Germany. While thinking and writing about telling the history never written and encouraging resourceful and nonprogressive historiographic intervention into minority history, he too was part of the transnational exchanges in Paris. He also brushed against the history of Paris editions, as memorably documented in an epistolary exchange with American expatriate Sylvia Beach. In 1939, soon after the outbreak of the Second World War, they exchanged a few letters in French, which was the native tongue of neither person, and they discussed his work on Charles Baudelaire and the social circuits around her English bookshop.[30] For me, these letters between Beach and Benjamin document an encounter between a publishing haven and a historiographic method, momentarily bringing together an archive and a theory.

I have organized *A Publisher's Paradise* into three sections on politics, publishing, and pornography. This approach has allowed me to concentrate on different kinds of historical evidence about this outlying print culture and also tell it from three different perspectives: that of the politicians and diplomats who policed it through legislation and cultural policy; that of the publishers, booksellers, authors, and readers who passed through the expatriate publishing and distribution networks in Paris; and finally, that of the banned books that reflected their offshore textual conditions in a

switchboard of linguistic, bibliographic, and topographical codes. My structure, which is more recursive than chronological, both emphasizes and performs the broken and discontinuous nature of this publishing history that brought together, in momentary concatenations in Paris, a wide variety of people and books over time. It bypasses the process of turning standard narratives of literary history into serialized nation-specific bundles of Victorians, Decadents, modernists, and postwar writers by reading comparatively and contrapuntally across national archives, both in search of the literary and political dynamics that created the shadowy expatriate networks around Paris editions and in search of the complex textual histories of the books which themselves tell the story of this publishing outpost. As Andrew Prescott observes, archives are usually based on nation-based governmental structures, which do not easily encompass transnational and diasporic groups that cut across them. If "the exile is a passing and ephemeral presence" in most conventional and institutional archives, as Prescott says, I try to shake loose this figure, as well as their books from abroad, through a juxtaposition of fragmentary archives documenting overlapping but contradictory political, commercial, and textual histories.[31] My aim is to flush out different kinds of culture ghosts and expatriate social filaments without pretending that the work will come together as a neat, grand historical narrative.[32]

The first section, "Politics," explores the complex political dynamics behind the rise and fall of Paris editions. These books were caught up in the pulsations of Anglo-French cultural politics and the internationalization of pornography. The disposition of French publishing laws, which were fundamentally liberal and allowed Paris to become a kind of literary sanctuary for English sex books, triggered British repressive policies and informed the modernist "theater of censorship." At the same time this picture of anglophone repressiveness and French liberalism was complicated by numerous negotiations, policy reversals, local factors, and personality-driven agendas in different national and international contexts. I draw on a wealth of materials buried in British and French government archives to examine the unfolding international climate that was the stage for British censorship and French publishing, connecting this history to larger political and cultural conflicts about the international traffic in pornography, the status of immigrants and foreigners, and the limits of state power.

The heart of my book appears in the section called "Publishing."

In these chapters I look more closely at the understudied world of booklegging and book laundering and the people, books, and careers that were shaped by these conditions. There is a great deal of untapped information about how this business was run and the kinds of people who were involved. Uncovering this commercial and social history has involved digging in genealogical and government records, city holdings, library collections, newspaper ads and reviews, and the books themselves, looking where others have not looked and reading across national archives. Certain books have influenced the direction of my work on Paris publishers and publishing, including Mendes's meticulous bibliography on clandestine publishers, which first inspired me; James Nelson's *Publisher to the Decadents;* Hugh Ford's *Published in Paris;* Neil Pearson's *Obelisk: Jack Kahane and the Obelisk Press;* and Patrick Kearney's *The Paris Olympia Press.* Rachel Potter has also begun to look at the pornographic publishing practices adopted by modernist publishers.[33] I focus especially on the extraordinary life and career of Carrington, the publisher who was the mastermind behind Paris editions and representative of the kinds of expatriate dealers who gravitated toward Paris to deal in "dirty books." Both his life and his publishing business were outlets for expressing a more liberal and international perspective on culture. I also look beyond Carrington to other publishers and booksellers who distributed English books from Paris, some of the best known of whom were Hirsch, Beach, Kahane, and Girodias. Their expatriate publishing and distribution infrastructures overlapped, linking pornographic production and high modernism, even though their social positions, sexual politics, and literary contacts were often wildly divergent.

My final section, "Pornography," pays more attention to the books being distributed as Paris editions and the stories they tell about this publishing history. "Pornography" is a troubling term, as its meanings have fluctuated over time and it has often been used in opposition to terms such as "obscenity" and "erotica." The term "pornography" circulated in France before being adopted in popular usage by the British in the 1880s. In my previous book, *The Traffic in Obscenity from Byron to Beardsley,* I stuck to British statutory terminology, but "pornography" becomes the prevalent term in the twentieth century in France and Anglo-America as well as the subject of debate.[34] In looking at Paris editions under the rubric of pornography, I am not eliding these debates, but rather emphasizing the connections between the most degraded and most reputa-

ble modernist novels that circulated as Paris editions. I bring together three very different works: *Suburban Souls* (a turn-of-the-century novel set in Paris and preoccupied with the idea of suburban incest), *Teleny* (a gay novel attributed to Oscar Wilde), and Nabokov's *Lolita* (a metafictional confession about a man's lust for a prepubescent girl). In different ways, these books reflected on this expatriate print culture and their offshore "textual conditions," telling their own stories about the history of Paris editions as well as "the dirty little secret" of British literary history.[35] I answer Jerome McGann's call for a materialist hermeneutics, reading the linguistic, bibliographic, and topographical codes of these books in relation to the political and literary dynamics of this publishing paradise.

In *The Banned Books of England and Other Countries,* Alec Craig recalls his furtive reading of the banned *Lady Chatterley's Lover,* which was first published in Florence by Giuseppe Orioli but was quickly taken up by pirates in Paris. As Craig writes, "I remember myself in the early thirties hurriedly finishing my reading of a copy I was bringing from Paris before reaching Dover for fear that Customs might find it in my baggage."[36] *A Publisher's Paradise* aims to uncover the politics, people, and books that were part of this expatriate publishing phenomenon as it extended over a seventy-year period and staged different kinds of cultural and social dissent from abroad, forming surprising linkages that were central to the development of Anglo-American modernist writing at large.

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I

POLITICS

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CHAPTER 1

BRITISH CULTURAL POLICY AND THE RISE OF PARIS EDITIONS, 1890–1914

Paris was the center of European artistic life in the nineteenth century. In the British cultural imagination, the city was also the gateway for splendor and vice. The controversial French novels of Guy de Maupassant, Emile Zola, and Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly fed such ideas with their loose tales of sex, prostitution, and adultery. Many British writers, and especially the generation of young Decadent writers like Ernest Dowson, Arthur Symons, and Havelock Ellis, spent considerable amounts of time in Paris soaking up its libertine atmosphere and infusing their works with music halls, absinthe nights, and sexual vanguardism while railing against British prudery and censoriousness. Novelist George Gissing often said that French novels were much better because English ones could not consider "the sexual instinct." It might not come as a surprise, then, that the City of Light became a haven for Paris editions of English books that were too sexually explicit for the British, and later American, public. Yet, these "dirty" English books published and distributed from Paris did not appear in significant numbers until the 1890s,

suggesting a specific set of circumstances for their emergence. It was, in fact, British cultural policy that led to the rise of Paris editions, a history which has yet to be studied in any detail or linked to the development of Anglo-American literary culture in the capital.

The history of how this "pornographer's paradise"[1] first emerged and was then policed from afar is buried in hundreds of government records held in the British National Archives in London. Between 1890 and 1914, the Home Office, Post Office, Foreign Office, and Customs corresponded regularly over the rapidly expanding mail-order business in pornographic materials coming from the continent. Successive Conservative and Liberal governments reached out to foreign governments to track specific dealers who were using the postal system. Included with this correspondence were clippings of indecent advertisements from cheap magazines and newspapers, messages between dealers and buyers, intercepted catalogues and prospectuses, and exposés describing the Post Office as "the state disseminator of obscenity."[2] These records are a unique source of information on the government's secret measures for monitoring and policing the international traffic in pornography.[3] They show how these measures inadvertently created the conditions that helped make Paris a haven for English pornography, while offering, at the same time, a rare glimpse at the shadowy people and books that moved between exiles and cultures.

These records do not detail the political, social, or literary motives behind the government's new "international perspective" on pornography and the efforts to police its traffic across borders and beyond jurisdictions. Instead, they reveal how different politicians and officials over the years mobilized other governments against foreign-based dealers, mapped their distribution networks, organized elaborate sting operations, and took extra-judicial measures that implicated the highest levels of government—including a relatively young Winston Churchill when he was home secretary. Efforts to regulate the international traffic in pornography seem to have fused domestic concerns (vice crusades, protection of youth, urban reform, anti-French sentiment) with a broader panic about the increasingly global structures of the British press and post.

The fact that these measures, which trammeled on international agreements and constitutional rights, were handed down and taken up by successive governments from different political parties also suggests a deeper, perhaps nescient, motivation to extend state power and develop surveillance practices. The government's new approach

to pornography as a jurisdictional problem, to be tackled through secret surveillance, diplomatic interference, and cross-border policing, might thus be interpreted as a nation-based exercise of power. All sovereign power, writes political theorist Giorgio Agamben, pivots on the determination of what is included in and excluded from juridical order.[4] I want to stress, however, that these measures to extend Britain's jurisdictional power over its social and cultural exclusions were also repeatedly questioned and debated by officials within government. In other words, while this policy was in practice over many years, niggling questions about constitutional law, international accords, and the role of government in cultural life never abated, complicating clichés about British repression and French liberalism, particularly with regard to the internationalization of pornography.

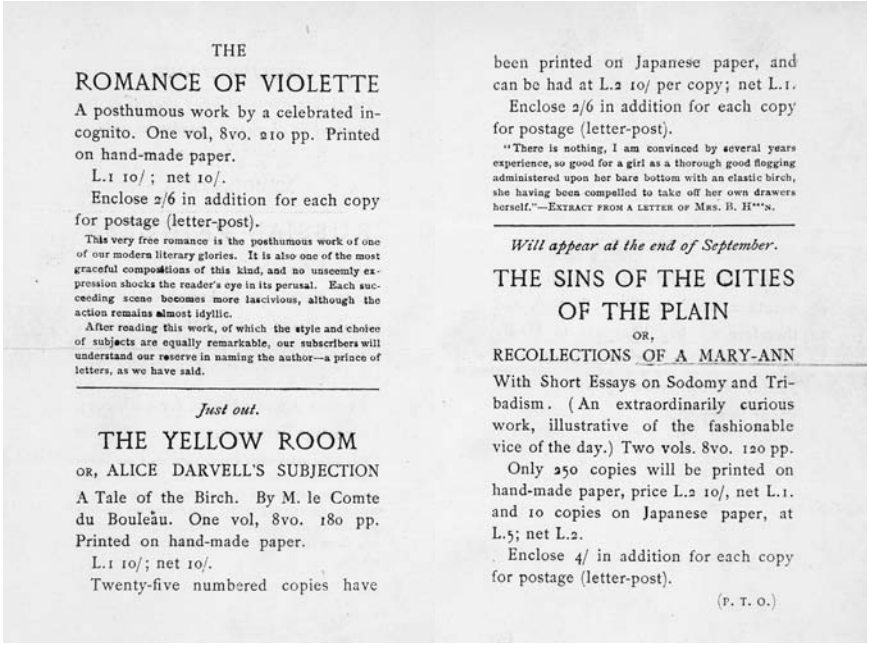
Britain as Global Watchdog

The British government first became preoccupied with the international traffic in pornography at the end of the nineteenth century. A number of laws were already in place to regulate the domestic trade in pornographic publications and images based in London, a secret culture industry that Steven Marcus exposed many years ago in *The Other Victorians*.[5] In addition to the Obscene Publications Act of 1857, which criminalized the sale and exhibition of indecent publications and pictures, laws passed in the late 1870s through the 1880s targeted specific distribution channels. The Customs Consolidation Act of 1876, the Post Office Protection Act of 1884, and the Indecent Advertisement Act of 1889 made it illegal to advertise indecent materials, deliver them by post, or carry them through customs.[6] Government records indicate that this assortment of laws was administratively challenging, particularly in determining prosecutorial responsibility, but effective in forcing British dealers into prison, out of business, and out of the country. In the 1880s, one London dealer, who went by the names William Lazenby and Duncan Cameron, was effectively silenced by a heavy prison sentence—two-years with hard labor.[7] The 1880s and 1890s witnessed several other sensational obscenity trials, including those in 1888 and 1889 of the bookseller-publisher Henry Vizetelly, who published cheap translations of Zola's novels, and in 1898 of George Bedborough for having sold Havelock Ellis's sexological study on *Sexual Inversion* (1897).[8]

Pressure from influential social purity movements and the fallout of Oscar Wilde's infamous 1895 trials for "gross indecency" led to a crackdown on purveyors of pornography in the West End that linked pernicious literature, prostitution, and homosexuality. By the end of the century, London booksellers and publishers such as Edward Avery, Charles Carrington, Charles Hirsch, Leonard Smithers, and H. S. Nichols (all will figure largely in this book), were forced into prison, bankruptcy, or exile. Streets that had been associated with Jewish booksellers and the pornographic trade were also razed and refurbished as part of the city's vast modernizing program. The crackdown was such that by 1910 there was virtually no British production of pornographic materials.[9]

But a problem arose because the international trade in pornographic pictures and books was out of British legislative reach and prosecutorial vigilance. Foreign dealers had found a pipeline into the choked British market by means of the international postal system. Although it was illegal in Britain to deal in indecent goods or send such materials by post, there was no statutory license to open suspicious packets, whether incoming or outgoing. Continental laws against indecent publications were also generally less strict than those in Britain—or "so far ahead" in the opinion of William Alexander Coote, secretary of the British National Vigilance Association (NVA).[10] In France, for example, it was not an offense to send pornographic material by post until the law proclaiming it as such passed on March 16, 1898, and this legislation was extremely limited as it only targeted open mail (such as postcards), not closed letters. These legal loopholes, plus the fact that there was still no international agreement in place to deal with pornography, meant that dealers could send their wares to Britain from different cities in Europe with relative impunity. The crackdown on the trade in pornography within Britain had thus effectively opened up the market to foreign dealers from abroad, as the government soon became aware.

By the beginning of the 1890s, information was circulating in intragovernmental correspondence about the growing mail-order trade in pornographic materials coming into the country from the continent. The Post Office reported to the home secretary that the Graphic Company of Rotterdam sent 2,445 advertisements and 15 catalogues to the British public. A complaint was received about an indecent catalogue sent to a London bookseller from E. F. A. Schloffel of Amsterdam. Then there was the interception of a cat-



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1.1. Catalogue from Paris intercepted by the British Post Office, November 10, 1891. National Archives, London.

alogue of pornographic books in English sent to a London bookseller from Jules Gauché's Librairie Française & Internationale in Paris (fig. 1.1).[11]

The titles on this list suggest that the catalogue originated from the Belgian-born publisher-bookseller August Brancart, who published pornographic books in both French and English from Amsterdam in the late 1880s and early 1890s before going deep underground.[12] An additional report came in from the commissioner of police who noticed suspicious advertisements for "photos taken from nature" placed by A. Dieckmann of the Librairie International of Amsterdam in London's popular two-penny weekly *Sporting Times*.[13] What had previously been perceived as a homegrown problem seemed to be evolving into a continental one, with foreign dealers targeting a preexisting British market while also capitalizing on the new opportunities to traffic pornographic materials internationally.

The Home Office responded to these reports by issuing warrants that allowed the Post Office to stop and open mail to and

from suspected foreign dealers. The first warrant was issued in 1891 against the Graphic Company of Rotterdam, and more warrants soon followed.[14] Henry Matthews, a British lawyer and Conservative politician in Robert Gascoyne-Cecil's government (1886–1892), was the first home secretary to sign one of these warrants. He never openly campaigned to purge the world of pornography, but his tenure as home secretary was marked by the prominence of social purity movements like the NVA and the wave of anti-French sentiment surrounding Vizetelly's trials over the Zola translations. When questioned in Parliament about taking more stringent measures against indecent publications, Matthews remarked that prosecutions brought unwanted publicity to these works. On another occasion in Parliament, when asked about objectionable French works being sent to schools in Dublin, he noted that the Post Office had no "power to interfere" with the delivery of closed-letter mail.[15] Outside the public eye, however, he secretly gave the authority for such interference, possibly as a measure to bypass publicity and expensive trials, and likely with less ethical consideration because it infringed on the confidentiality of foreign dealers.

As reports continued to come in about "the greatly increased use of the international post for the purpose of introducing obscene matter into this Country,"[16] similar authority was granted to the Post Office by the subsequent home secretary. This was Herbert Asquith, cabinet member in William E. Gladstone's Liberal government (1892–1895), which again, particularly given the prime minister's own penchant for literary pornography, had not set a public agenda to rid the world of pornography.[17] Yet it was Asquith who made what would prove an influential policy decision that remapped the international business of pornography. He asked the Foreign Office to exchange information about foreign pornographers with other governments, as detailed in an 1894 letter:

> Indecent publications and catalogues of the most extremely indecent character are being sent in considerable quantities into this country, and among other places to the boys in our public schools. These catalogues invite purchase of various obscene articles and pictures, and Mr. Asquith would be obliged if the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs could be moved to send letters or to make such communication as he thought proper to those foreign governments whose laws forbid the production of these articles, with a view to steps being taken to suppress the nuisance.
>
> In cases in which the communications of the Secretary of State for

> Foreign Affairs met with a favourable response from the foreign governments, the Police of this Country would furnish the foreign Police with such particulars as would enable them to put in force the law against those vendors of indecent articles who extend their operations to England by means of the catalogues and advertisements sent through the post.[18]

Following up on Asquith's request with letters of inquiry to various governments in Europe, America, India, Australia, and beyond, the Foreign Office began exchanging information about specific dealers while remaining in close communication with the Home Office. The British government thus created a new unofficial role for itself as global watchdog of the international traffic in pornography. This was one of a number of international political initiatives of the nineteenth century, including those against anarchism and prostitution ("the white-slave trade"), in the lead up to more formal structures of world policing and international treaties.[19] In the case of the internationalization of pornography, Britain was the first nation to identify it as a problem and take up this diplomatic role before an international agreement was struck in 1910 and before Interpol was formed in 1923. What the British government failed to foresee, however, was the extent to which this ad-hoc cultural policy would lead to the restructuring of pornographic distribution networks and the eventual rise of an offshore pornographer's paradise just across the Channel.

The Amsterdam Gang

As the British government took on this role as global watchdog of the international traffic in pornography, extensive information was amassed on suspect foreign dealers and their movements around Europe. Hundreds of names and addresses were collected over a number of years, producing a veritable rogue's gallery. "The names and aliases, and even the handwriting of the great dealers in these articles quickly become known," the Home Office later reported to a parliamentary committee, "and although they change the address and the nature and form of the circulars which they issue, they are largely followed up and traced."[20] Intergovernmental correspondence generally did not discuss the specific materials being trafficked or the various international and national initiatives driving these coordinated purges. Instead British officials concentrated on

mapping and crippling the distribution networks of these foreign dealers; they focused on who was moving the goods, what connections dealers had with each other, and how they shipped their wares across borders by foot, rail, post, or boat. Two distribution networks were targeted at the end of the nineteenth century—a multilateral network that dealt mainly in pornographic photographs, and a bilateral network that dealt in pornographic books and photographs. As Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker argue, however, distribution is not simply about delivery: it also includes the extent, in time and space, of a cultural and political process made up of individual actors.[21] Thus changing preoccupations about immorality, vulnerable citizens, female sex trafficking, and immigration drove this work of mapping and policing international distribution networks over the years. These distribution networks, moreover, were highly responsive and resistant to British policing efforts and were, to some extent, the geopolitical creations of Britain's cultural policy.

The Amsterdam gang was the first group chased down by the interconnected efforts of the British Post Office, Home Office, and Foreign Office. Three men, who dealt mostly in photographs, were the main targets: Adolf Estinger, Louis Ramlo, and C. G. Bellak. They first came onto the scene in Eastern Europe. In summer 1894 the British postmaster general placed a watch on the incoming and outgoing mail of Louis Ramlo in Budapest, after receiving complaints from the public about indecent catalogues of photographs and books being mailed by him. A certain Adolf Estinger, "éditeur," was also shown to be mailing out the same catalogue as Ramlo from a post-office box in Budapest, leading to the suspicion that they were the same person or at least closely connected. As both men were sending and receiving hundreds of letters through the post, Home Secretary Asquith followed the recommendation of the postmaster general to take the same steps as Matthews took with the Graphic Company back in 1891, and he issued a warrant to detain and open all mail to and from either man.[22] The warrant appears to have been effective at stopping this mail from Budapest, including one order from Britain requesting photographs of young girls, ballet dancers, and harem tableaux.[23] But it also had the effect of rerouting the men's business to Amsterdam, the city Dutch writer Ferdinand Bordewijk likened to a "dilapidated brothel."

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the area known as de Pijp was the "bastion of bohemians . . . dreamers, poets, drunkards, and pioneers of the new century" and "full of beer houses, lodging

houses and other places of a more secret entertainment."[24] A number of pornographers operated out of this district in the 1880s and early 1890s. Sometime around 1893 there was a police crackdown that appears to have caused dealers like Estinger to flee.[25] But the British Post Office noted that business had resumed in Amsterdam and alerted the Home Office: "It is believed that Estinger and Ramlo who may be one and the same person previously carried on business at Amsterdam and it seems certain they are now aware that letters addressed to Budapesth are not reaching them and are using the Amsterdam address as a means of escape." The warrant to detain and stop their mail was therefore modified from simply Budapest to include "or elsewhere," giving the Post Office seemingly unlimited extra-jurisdictional power.[26] British officials thus redirected their attention to Amsterdam: handwriting experts from the Post Office's Confidential Enquiry Branch analyzed Ramlo's and Estinger's letters; postal and money orders were stopped; information was exchanged about Estinger's impending visit to London; and the Home Office granted another series of postal warrants against firms, people, and post office boxes in Amsterdam thought to be associated with Ramlo or Estinger, such as "The Art Studios" and "The World Office"—names that both conferred legitimacy and capitalized on the developing international profile of the trade.[27]

While tracking Ramlo and Estinger from Budapest to Amsterdam, British officials also began mapping the movements of another dealer from Eastern Europe, C. G. Bellak. After complaints were received in Britain about his mail-order catalogues advertising pornographic photographs, a warrant was issued against any mail coming from or going to him in Belgrade or Budapest.[28] Subsequent correspondence between the Home Office and the British consul in Belgrade elicited a fascinating sketch of the man. Bellak was a "Hungarian Jew" who "was already well known to the Police as a dealer in these horrors," but "was so crafty that the police had not yet success in bringing him under the correction of the Serbian law." Bellak was careful "to abstain from selling or advertising his filthy wares in this country (which would at once put him into the power of the police) and confined himself to supplying them to customers who lived abroad." Because Bellak, as a Hungarian citizen, could appeal to the consulate, he could not be dealt with summarily. The correspondence suggests, however, that the consul made arrangements with the Serbian police to fine Bellak and had him "packed off across the frontier."

The dubious legality of such measures was acknowledged but justified as dealers like him were exploiting the lack of international law on pornography as well as the lack of an international police force.[29] Bellak's forced removal also points to the ways in which this moral purge combined with anti-immigration and anti-Semitic sentiment in British foreign affairs. His removal, however, simply pushed him elsewhere. Like Estinger and Ramlo, he fled to Amsterdam, and the Home Office and the Foreign Office soon linked indecent catalogues sent to Britain from Amsterdam back to Bellak. A new postal warrant was issued against his mail to and from "Amsterdam or elsewhere," amended like Estinger's warrant to reflect his relocation to Amsterdam and attempt to curtail his movements. Eventually all of these dealers seemed to be linked to de Pijp.[30]

By the start of 1895, foreign diplomats were corresponding regularly with the British about this Amsterdam gang. The Imperial Ministry for the Austro-Hungarian Empire sent information back to Britain about proceedings taken against Bellak and Estinger for sending the "Latest Catalogue of Original Photographs of the 1st Class Only, 19th edition" to schoolboys in Vienna. Advertisements in newspapers suggested that they "continued to offer for sale their indecent pictures and publications" from Amsterdam.[31] A Hague diplomat also notified the British Foreign Office of an important seizure of Estinger's wares in Amsterdam. Estinger, who was under police surveillance while appealing an earlier charge of dealing pornography, had been stopped in the street after claiming a large packet from the Post Office. The packet contained pornographic materials from Budapest, Dresden, and Milan, a discovery that led the Dutch to insist that Holland was "not the 'country of origin' of the obnoxious wares in question."[32] But the Amsterdam-based dealers continued to cause trouble and keep these diplomatic channels busy tracking their activities. One of their most audacious moves was to send catalogues of their wares to every French deputy and senator, likely having pulled their names from the Didot-Bottin postal directory in an attempt at extortion, but also in a provocative linking of political and sexual subversion.[33] A British diplomat from The Hague informed the Home Office that the French minister in Amsterdam was putting pressure on the government to prosecute Bellak, one of the men suspected of sending these catalogues: "The case is remarkable as showing the effrontery of the dealers in these wares. It arose of the receipt of the Procureur Général of Paris of

an exceptionally elaborate catalogue of the above description with the address of the aforesaid individual of Amsterdam. My colleague infers from the address and from the very incorrect French of the catalogue that it must be of Dutch origin."[34]

Sustained pressure from the British government finally drove the business out of Amsterdam by the end of 1895. The following year, however, the Home Office sent word to the Foreign Office about large quantities of indecent catalogues of photographs sent to Britain from Charles Schroeter and the Novelty Warehouse in Barcelona, revealing that the dealers had simply set up their operation elsewhere, in another European city. The Home Office deduced "from the hand-writing of the address that the group of dealers at Amsterdam who gave so much trouble in 1894 and 1895 may have migrated to Barcelona."[35] Another purge brought another relocation, and the British government pursued these dealers, their alliances, and their trade up until the First World War.[36]

British attempts to police the movements of the Amsterdam gang offer the most detailed picture of the European traffic in pornographic photographs from the 1890s up until the First World War. The officials did not have all the facts: much was speculation and guesswork, but files were handed down over the years and alliances and aliases were traced in a relatively systematic government drive to stop the international traffic in pornography. The effects of this cultural policy can be traced in the advertisements these foreign dealers placed for "photographs from nature" posted in cheap British weeklies from multiple addresses all over Europe. Louis Ramlo placed ads from Amsterdam and Vienna, a dealer named Gomez from Genoa and Monachia (Munich), and Schroeter and Recknagel (possible aliases for Ramlo-Estinger) from Munich.[37] These men worked and lived on the fly and out of place, the new face of a rescaled pornography trade run largely by European drifters and expatriates. Posting pornographic material from no fixed address became the new way of business. Exploiting the jurisdictional confusion surrounding their criminal activities, foreign dealers plugged into the international postal system ahead of the police and often beyond the law as they girdled Europe. The multilateral and highly mobile configuration of their distribution networks were the result of British officials working diplomatic channels to have the dealers detained and extradited, giving rise to the figure of the expatriate pornographer, the central figure in my book.

Another consequence of British cultural policy was that central

and southern Europe became important distribution zones for the mail-order trade in pornographic photographs. This propulsion of the pornographic photograph, which was already far less encumbered by linguistic barriers and proprietary claims, farther south and farther away from Britain, possibly contributed to its alienation at the very moment when new media technologies and faster modes of delivery were making a variety of images more readily available and transforming them into pornography's main currency. The pornographic photograph bouncing around Europe represented a particularly foreign threat, according to this spatial logic. Perhaps this history helps ground Jean Baudrillard's theoretical equation of the obscenity of culture with the frenzy of the image. This equation is arguably one of the postmodern outcomes of turn-of-the-century geopolitics of the pornographic photograph: when it was hurled around Europe in ecstasy and alienation by outcast European traffickers on the run from the force of British extra-jurisdictional diplomacy.[38]

Paris Pornographers

While Estinger, Ramlo, and Bellak were still being hunted down across Europe in late 1894, the British Post Office also produced a report for Home Secretary Asquith on the mail-order trade in pornographic materials coming from Paris. The letter documented fifteen cases over a ten-year period and concluded that there was no significant trade from the French city: "We are certainly led to think that Paris is not by any means the centre for the English trade at present. Amsterdam seems the great place and has been for some years."[39] The situation dramatically changed by the following year, however. Postal interceptions and diplomatic interventions had pushed the Amsterdam gang around Europe and further south, but these measures were less successful in preventing pornographers from establishing a base just across the Channel. Paris already had a robust domestic French-language trade in pornography, and literature in particular circulated more freely during the Third Republic. The important freedom of press law of July 29, 1881, liberalized the press and book trade. Immoral works (*contraires aux bonnes moeurs*) were still punishable offenses, but the law of August 2, 1882, monumentally set the book apart from other forms of pornography. The book was all but exempt from punishment, punishable only by jury decision in the country's highest criminal

court, the Cour d'assises.[40] With the British-led purges in London, Amsterdam, and around Europe, Paris was thus ideally situated for pornographic publishers and booksellers looking for a new base in a city that already had an international reputation for sex license, libertinism, and pursuits of pleasure.

An export mail-order trade in English books grew in Paris where there had been none before, further facilitated by the country's lenient postal laws. Dealers of pornographic photographs also took root in the city, but took far greater risks than book dealers, as images did not share the same protections in France. The British government persisted in efforts to purge all these dealers from Paris, as they had from Amsterdam, but met with frustration since the city seemed to be an oasis for foreign pornographers. Parisian authorities in fact struggled with these foreign incursions that turned their capital into a gateway for vice at a time when city politics was turning to the right,[41] but it was largely the British authorities who took steps to stop the Paris-based publishers and booksellers whose distribution networks were bilateral in configuration and more closely implicated in the British cultural economy. Because of this cultural and geographic proximity, however, the purging of Paris's dealers in pornography was a much more contested and self-reflexive process for British officials charged with opening mail, tracking down dealers, and censoring books amidst fluctuating domestic and international objectives.

The first Paris-based pornographers to attract the attention of the British authorities were Georges Lemallier and Charles Carrington. They operated their extensive mail-order trade from bookshops off the Grands Boulevards in the ninth district of Paris. In late 1894, the postmaster general alerted the Home Office about indecent prints sent by Lemallier to a London address.[42] A year later, Carrington was identified in Home Office correspondence as "a large and well known bookseller in Paris" (even though one of his catalogues was described as "innocence itself when compared with some received from Holland").[43] The first of a series of warrants was issued to stop all mail coming from his first Parisian bookshop at 32, rue Drouot.[44] The postmaster general subsequently outlined for the Home Office the "great deal of trouble" caused "by the persistent efforts" of these two men to advertise and sell pornography in Britain from France. His report also described the methods these men (believed to be "connected to one another") used to distribute their books:

> Between September 1895 and the end of March 1896 no fewer than ten thousand four hundred and forty-two open packets purporting to be sent by Carrington were stopped by this Office and destroyed. These packets contained for the most part advertisements of a book entitled "The Book of Exposition in the science of complete and perfect coition," and another book entitled "The old man young again," for which subscriptions were invited. The advertisements in question were addressed to adult persons in the upper ranks of Society, some of them ladies, whose names and addresses had apparently been obtained from Directories. . . .
>
> Nineteen hundred catalogues and about twenty indecent books, purporting to be sent by him [Lemallier], have been stopped. These catalogues are for the most part of an ordinary character, but upon certain pages are entries of indecent books advertised in indecent language. The catalogues were, like Carrington's, addressed to adult persons in the upper ranks of Society, and sometimes to ladies, whose addresses had apparently been obtained from Directories.[45]

The two books in question, *The Book of Exposition* (1896) and *The Old Man Young Again* (1898) were Carrington's earliest publications, after the style of Sir Richard Burton's 1880s sexed-up translations of *The Thousand Nights and One Night* (1885–1886) and the *Kama Sutra* (1883).[46] Carrington was perhaps searching for clients like Burton (and his wife), the educated elite interested in privately published material. His blitz advertising strategy was miscalculated, however, given his restricted target audience, triggering complaints from the public that raised the alarm for the postmaster general. The scale of this advertising campaign, plus concern about a public made vulnerable by increasingly international postal traffic, put Carrington and Lemallier on the government's radar and drove several attempts to put them out of business by means of the postal warrants and diplomatic structures first set in place by Matthews and Asquith in their roles as Home Secretary.

A growing sense of the escalating problem in Paris caused Matthew White Ridley, the subsequent home secretary (1895–1900) for Gascoyne-Cecil's third term as Conservative prime minister,[47] to authorize a consolidated warrant in 1897 to stop the incoming mail of these Paris-based dealers and their possible accomplices, Henri Robert, Madame Duringe, and Lazenby (alias Ashley). The goal was to break up the network of agents and intermediaries helping them distribute material to London. The inclusion of William Lazenby's

name on the consolidated warrant is revealing. Lazenby, who operated under numerous aliases, was one of the most active London dealers during the 1870s and 1880s. A note on the warrant made this connection explicit: "Lazenby is a man who is well known . . . as one of the most inveterate dealers in indecent wares in London. He has been 3 or 4 times convicted. His name was inserted in the warrant . . . [as it was] thought that he was perhaps the sender of the packets to 'Duringe' (in Paris)." Lazenby's reemergence as a suspected intermediary more than ten years later after his imprisonment in 1886 importantly reveals the London origins of the Paris pornographic book trade as well as its bilateral configuration.[48]

From information gleaned from this postal surveillance, the authorities began targeting these agents when they came into Britain—sometimes even going so far as to lure them into the country. Henri Robert was one of the agents who smuggled books across the border, presumably to bypass the suspicions of the Post Office on alert for materials coming from France. There was erroneous speculation that he was Carrington, who had emerged as "the most active and energetic of the gang."[49] Complaints were received that Robert was sending "objectionable circulars" from Dover, and Scotland Yard had him under watch in London where he was sending parcels of indecent wares by post and sometimes by rail.[50] His eventual capture was by chance, unfolding in a madcap scene in Folkstone, a coastal city in Kent on the English Channel. In the fall of 1897 post office officials discovered an intoxicated man who was "about 40 years of age, tall, mouse coloured hair and moustache, apparently not an Englishman," attempting to send registered parcels of books published from abroad: *The Cabinet of Venus*, *The Spanish Gallant*, and *The Birchen-Bouquet*, all works of explicit pornography.[51] An alliterative prospectus for *The Spanish Gallant*, published by Carrington in 1897, gives a good idea of its sexual content and its idealization of a Paris and Europe open to the pursuit of pleasure:

> This work . . . details the adventures of a Lusty Young Lusitanian, who was a veritable Cormorant for Copulation. It relates his Amorous Adventures with Spanish Señoritas, his Funny Frolics with Parisian Prostitutes, Fanciful French Dames, and Turkish Tit-Bits. . . .
>
> All Lovers of Lewd Literature should not fail to secure this Splendid Specimen of Sparkling Smut; and enjoy the Erotic Ecstasies that spring from a Perusal of its Prodigiously Pornographic Pages playfully depicting the Prowess of this puissant Prince for Protracted Poking.

> It describes the life of the hero from the time when a Juvenile he first experienced the Joys of Conjunction with his Naked Nurse; relates how he took Mademoiselle Mercedes' Maidenhead; how he Rogered Rosalie; how he made the acquaintance of a Lusty Live Lord, who took him to Turkey where he Tumbled twice twenty Turkish women of the Sultan's Seraglio; how he became a member of a Secret Sodomite Society; how he escaped to Fair France and of his doings with the Delightful Demimondaines, and Frail French Coition-loving Cocettes of Paris.[52]

Arrested at his hotel with *The Spanish Gallant* and the other books on hand, Robert was also found to have a number of other incriminating documents on him: comments on *Flossy, The Cabinet of Venus,* and other pornographic books, postal orders, correspondence on indecent photographs, and a memorandum book called "Mercier's cash book" showing an account between him and Carrington. Prosecuted under two names, "Henry Roberts" and "Henry Mercier" (as it was maddeningly unclear which was his legal name), he was found guilty and sentenced to four months' imprisonment with hard labor, though he claimed to be the unwitting agent of Carrington's vast mail-order trade.[53]

Alfred Van Dyck, another foreign agent, was also the target of an intricate British sting operation. Described as a "pestilent purveyor of obscene books in England" and thought to be in league with Carrington through Dutch-French distribution channels, a postal warrant was issued against him in early 1897.[54] The metropolitan police also set a trap to lure him into the country, arranging for an obliging London bookseller to write Van Dyck for a catalogue and place a book order. Before long, Van Dyck was caught red-handed posting these books in central London and arrested on Frith Street in Soho—the historic center of London's pornographic book trade. These "grossly obscene" books included *Sheaves from an Old Escritoire, The Life and Adventures of Silas Shovewell,* and *Memoirs of a Russian Princess,* all titles that appeared in Carrington's Parisian sales catalogues.[55] Van Dyck was prosecuted under the Post Office (Protection) Act and sentenced in June 1897 to nine months' imprisonment with hard labor, but his name reemerged in Foreign Office correspondence just a few years later, with reports about his grossly indecent catalogues and further collusion with Carrington.[56] The government's coordinated attempts to capture foreign operatives in Britain meant they had recourse to the country's laws, but it also

meant taking on the expense and publicity of bringing them to trial and acknowledging, on some level, the nation's complex political relationship to its cultural expulsions.

British officials extended this crackdown to Paris by coordinating efforts with the French government and police, and investigating the foreign bookleggers in the city. One of these dealers under British surveillance regularly placed ads for "Rare French and English Works" in popular British magazines, such as the *Sporting Mirror, Judy, Pick-Me-Up,* and the *London Illustrated Standard,* many of the same weeklies in which the Amsterdam gang and other French dealers advertised.[57] This dealer went by the name H. Bouvier but also had many aliases (G. Arthur, Arthur Grey, Tindall McArthur, and A. de Sailles), and, like Carrington, he operated for a while out of the ninth district. British postal officials intercepted a number of his "exceptionally gross" catalogues, and the Foreign Office urged the French government to make an arrest.[58] French police discovered that Bouvier rented a room in the district where he received voluminous correspondence from Britain and where he had an important stock of pornographic books, photographs, and engravings kept in a closet. Because his business was exclusively mail order, however, the French ministre de la Justice found that he had infringed on no French law.[59] The British government confronted this scenario more than once, as the country's laws seemed to provide immunity to these dealers and their distribution networks.

Correspondence between the British and French governments over the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century shows continued efforts to purge the Parisian pornographers exporting to Britain and the growing enclave of anglophone pornographers who, despite these efforts, established themselves in the ninth district. An Englishman named H. Ashford became known for his ingenious method of sending his catalogues to Britain by hiding them in copies of the French newspaper *Le Matin.* A report by the metropolitan police explained that this was a successful form of advertisement as it "passe[d] through the English Post with little chance of detection" and was "economic, from the advertiser's point of view for the postage only costs 5 centimes, instead of 25 centimes."[60] The books he carried were cheap reprints of pornographic novels published for the Paris trade and circulated by a number of dealers: *With Rod and Bum, Flossie a Venus at* 15*, Forbidden Fruit,* and *More Forbidden Fruit.*[61] The French government, following up British diplomatic requests to intervene, reported that Ashford

had died in January 1902. The metropolitan police, aware that his advertisements nonetheless continued, suspected that Ashford's death was a sham and speculated he was Bouvier's agent, but it was later discovered that his widow carried on his business.[62]

Other foreign dealers operating out of Paris's ninth district and under British surveillance were D. Pulver and Richard Gennert. Pulver, who spoke French with a heavy American accent, was found renting four letter-boxes at a private post office from which he distributed books and photographs to British and American clientele. Gennert, born in Germany to American parents, specialized in photographs and appeared frequently in British correspondence with the French government.[63] The publisher-printer H. S. Nichols completes this rogue's gallery. He hailed from London, but landed in Paris in 1902, fleeing certain prison time for selling obscene books. The French police tried to organize a sting operation against him, acting on information from the British government, but Nichols managed to evade arrest because he never made direct sales. He told clients that his merchandise was stored in the country, and he followed up all requests by sending mail-order catalogues in closed postal packets beyond the reach of French law.[64] What makes Nichols's case especially compelling for tracing the development of anglophone literary culture in Paris and the connection between expatriate pornography and expatriate modernism is that the British had a postal warrant against him at one time at an address at 16 Place Vendôme, the very address where, during the interwar period, the Manchester-born Jack Kahane started publishing works such as Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* (1934).[65]

That Paris had become a haven for English-language pornography by the turn of the century was spelled out in a memorandum from the British Foreign Office from 1903, which highlighted how the business had evolved from a mail-order trade to a form of literary sex tourism in the heart of the city:

> There are probably more English than French books in the windows of the shops in the Rue de Rivoli, Rue Castiglione, and Palais Royale [*sic*], . . . [for the] foreign tourist, for whose benefit the majority of the shops in the streets named evidently exist, and of whom by far the greater number belong to the Anglo-Saxon race. These visitors to Paris . . . may be seen at all hours gazing through the shop windows in the streets in question; and many of them, no doubt, become purchasers of these productions either out of mere curiosity or for the purpose of indig-

nantly showing them as an example of the wares that the immoral Parisian tradesman sells to the guileless and pure-minded foreign tourist.[66]

Successive governments continued to use secret warrants and surveillance, diplomatic interventions, and sting operations to try to regulate the pornographic publishing and bookselling trade that had settled in Paris. Whether luring agents into its own cities or trying to regulate the Parisian trade from across the Channel, the British government was ultimately battling its own social and cultural expulsions, the limits of its state power, the internationalization of culture via press and post, and the cross purposes of national and international interests. Government records document this battle while providing rare and fascinating snapshots of the kinds of people, books, and practices circulating abroad on the margins of culture.

Anglophone publishers and booksellers were able to settle in Paris not only because of France's liberal press laws, but also because Paris always had foreigners. Foreigners made up 5 to 7 percent of the population during the nineteenth century, three times as many as in any other European capital up until the First World War.[67] But it should be noted that this history was also offset by the rise of international purity leagues and nationalist politics in Paris, as well as active anti-vice campaigners, such as Senator René Bérenger, who wanted to rid the city of these foreign purveyors of vice.[68] The French government also does not appear to have blocked British efforts to pursue foreign pornographers, and on a number of occasions sent police to investigate suspect dealers flagged in diplomatic correspondence. The wave of expulsions ordered by the Ministre de l'Intérieur in 1907 against these foreign pornographers reveals how vulnerable they were to the moral purges that periodically swept the city during the Third Republic, in spite of the freedom of the press and the country's so-called open borders. On May 1, 1907, expulsion orders came down on three of the men the British government had under surveillance since the 1890s—Ferdinando (aka Carrington), Bouvier (aka Tindall), and Gennert. No reason for their expulsion is given; all that remains, at least for Tindall and Gennert, is a brief identity check and a physical description, reminiscent of Cesar Lombrosio's physiognomic profiles of criminals:

FERDINANDO (Paul Henry), also known as CARRINGTON (Charles), born in London (England), November 20, 1867, son of John Isaac and Sarah Cox, expelled by a ministerial order of May 1, 1907. No description. Order notified on May 3, 1907, suspended until new order issued.

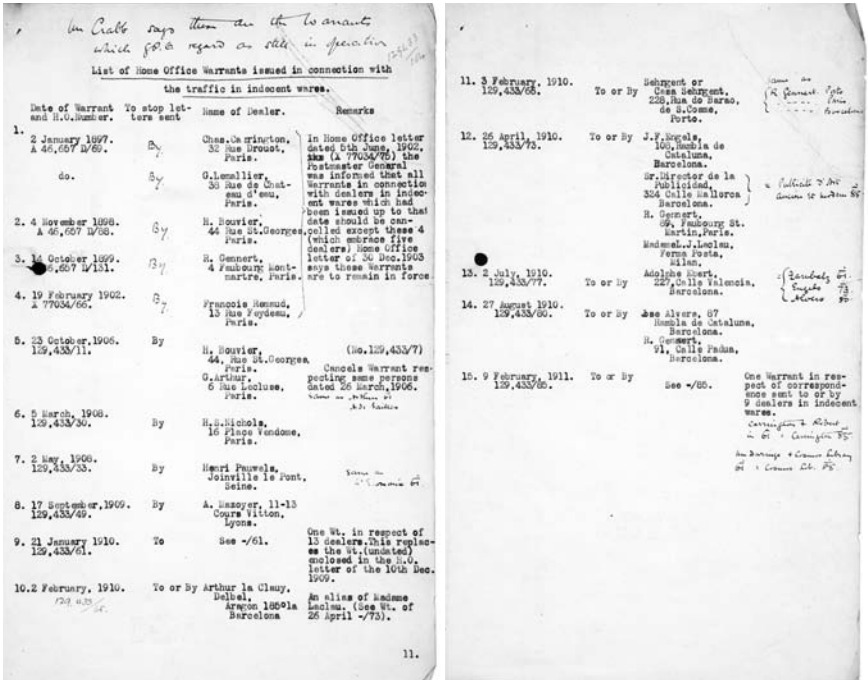
GENNERT (Richard), born in Helmstedt (Germany), January 17, 1871, son of Ernest and Marie Wavrem (Americans), expelled by ministerial order of May 1, 1907. 1 m 68 cm in height, dark brown hair, rounded forehead, light brown eyebrows, greenish blue eyes, straight nose, small mouth, cleft chin, light brown beard, round face, ordinary complexion. Order notified on May 3, 1907.

TINDALL (Gray-Arthur), born in Savobridgeworth (England) on December 30 1853, son of William and Emma Elbourne, expelled by ministerial order of May 1, 1907, 1 m 80 cm. in height, greying dark brown hair, oblique forehead, light brown eyebrows, dark slate-grey eyes, hooked nose, average mouth, cleft chin, greying moustache, bony face, darkish complexion. Order notified on May 3, 1907].[69]

Paris had a reputation for cosmopolitan pleasures, sexual indulgence, and imaginative freedom seemingly impossible in Britain, but this paradise for libertines and foreigners was also beset by plenty of "local Grundyism"[70] that was less than enthused about the literary gallants escaping to Fair France of Delightful Demimondaines and imposing on Frail French Coition-loving Cocettes.

The Indecent Warrants

Numerous British officials carried out this secret mail surveillance and backroom diplomacy over the years. The first warrant was issued in 1891, but the government continued to issue a considerable number of warrants at least until the late 1920s.[71] What started as an ad hoc measure to stop dealers by interfering with the money and distribution flow became a systematic practice that flouted agreements with the Universal Postal Union, circumvented the authority of the courts, denied dealers legal recourse, and infringed on the private correspondence of British citizens. The use of "indecent warrants," as they came to be called,[72] was actively kept from the public. Correspondence was regularly marked "confidential" and "secret," and officials conspired to keep the secret from becoming public, even hesitating sometimes to communicate fully with the police lest "it might lead to the secret action of the Post Office and S of S being known."[73] At the same time, though, government correspondence reveals the current of ethical and constitutional doubt surrounding the use of postal warrants against suspect foreign dealers. The warrants became the subject of heated intragovernmental debate over questions of jurisdiction, constitutionality,



List of Home Office Warrants issued in connection with the traffic in indecent wares.

	Date of Warrant and H.O.Number.	To stop letters sent	Name of Dealer.	Remarks
1.	2 January 1897. A 46,657 D/89.	By	Chas.Carrington, 32 Rue Drouot, Paris.	In Home Office letter dated 5th June, 1902, xxx (A 77034/76) the Postmaster General was informed that all warrants in connection with dealers in indecent wares which had been issued up to that date should be cancelled except these 4 (which embrace five dealers) Home Office letter of 26 Dec.1903 says these Warrants are to remain in force
	do.	By	G.Lemallier, 38 Rue de Chateau d'eau, Paris.	
2.	4 November 1898. A 46,657 D/98.	By	H. Bouvier, 44 Rue St.Georges, Paris.	
3.	14 October 1899. A 46,657 D/131.	By	R. Gennert, 4 Faubourg Montmartre, Paris.	
4.	19 February 1902. A 77034/66.	By	Francois Renaud, 13 Rue Feydeau, Paris.	
5.	23 October,1906. 129,433/11.	By	H. Bouvier, 44, Rue St.Georges Paris.	(No.129,433/7)
			G.Arthur, 6 Rue Lecluse, Paris.	Cancels Warrant respecting same persons dated 26 March,1906.
6.	5 March, 1908. 129,433/30.	By	H.S.Nichols, 16 Place Vendome, Paris.	
7.	2 May, 1908. 129,433/33.	By	Henri Pauwels, Joinville le Pont, Seine.	
8.	17 September,1909. 129,433/49.	By	A. Mazoyer, 11-13 Cours Vitton, Lyons.	
9.	21 January 1910. 129,433/61.	To	See -/61.	One Wt. in respect of 13 dealers.This replaces the Wt.(undated) enclosed in the H.O. letter of the 10th Dec. 1909.
10.	2 February, 1910.	To or By	Arthur la Cluny, Delbel, Aragon 186°la Barcelona	An alias of Madame Leclua. (See Wt. of 26 April -/73).

11.

11.	3 February, 1910. 129,433/68.	To or By	Behrgent or Casa Behrgent, 228,Rue de Berao, de S.Cosme, Porto.	
12.	26 April, 1910. 129,433/75.	To or By	J.F.Angels, 100,Rambla de Cataluna, Barcelona.	
			Dr.Director de la Publicidad, 324 Calle Mallorca Barcelona.	
			H. Gennert, 69, Faubourg St. Martin,Paris.	
			Madame...Leclua, Ferme Poste, Milan.	
13.	2 July, 1910. 129,433/77.	To or By	Adolphe Ebert, 227,Calle Valencia, Barcelona.	
14.	27 August 1910. 129,433/80.	To or By	Abe Alvare, 67 Rambla de Cataluna, Barcelona.	
			H. Gennert, 91, Calle Padua, Barcelona.	
15.	9 February, 1911. 129,433/85.	To or By	See -/85.	One Warrant in respect of correspondence sent to or by 9 dealers in indecent wares.

1.2 and 1.3 List of British Home Office warrants against continental pornographers, 1897–1910. National Archives, London.

and cultural management. It was not just a question of whether the government *could* intervene; it was also a question of whether it *should* intervene, especially in matters of literary culture. The high prestige of literature, to which these well-educated men were especially sensitive, in part explains why their debates about the use of extra-judicial warrants focused particularly on the literature coming out of France rather than the international traffic in images.

These "indecent warrants" were issued directly from the home secretary, as we have seen. He would write a letter to the postmaster general authorizing the detention of letters to and from a certain foreign dealer. The Confidential Enquiry Branch at the Post Office, which included handwriting experts, would then watch for such mail, documenting all seized material in a special register.[74] Different lists of these warrants were compiled over the years and included names of dealers, their addresses, and occasional commentary (figs. 1.2 and 1.3). These lists of foreign dealers were drafted for political and administrative purposes to keep track of current

and cancelled warrants as well as the ministers who authorized their issue. They offered more information about the dealers and their addresses than the number or nature of items seized, suggesting that their main function was to gain geopolitical control over the dealers and their distribution networks.

Internal debates about the indecent warrants, however, emerged almost as soon as they were introduced. They focused first on the warrants taken against the group of dealers who had moved to Amsterdam. Sir Robert Hunter, solicitor for the Post Office from 1882 until just before the First World War, was one of the most important defenders of civil liberties and liberal democracy in these debates.[75] In a 1894 letter on the feasibility of prosecuting Estinger and Ramlo from evidence gleaned from warrants, he insisted that such a move would call into doubt the integrity of the nation's information and communication network: "I think that, were the Postmaster General to prosecute in respect of an offence which had been detected by opening letters, the public confidence in the secrecy and security of the post would be rudely shaken." Legal opinion from the Home Office, however, ignored these objections. Even though it advised against prosecution (perhaps anticipating public outcry), it argued that foreign dealers who used the post to send indecent wares were not outside British legal jurisdiction. The act of sending was not completed, in-house council argued, until it reached the final country of destination.[76] This redefinition of the act of sending was an attempt to expand jurisdictional powers, a way of interpreting the law in order to bring foreign dealers under British juridical order. Similar discussions about the meaning of a "continuing act" persisted for a few years, with legal comparison made to foreign tradesmen who infringed on British patents by sending items from abroad.[77] Early debates about the warrants thus concentrated on how the actions in one country affected another and how current laws were inadequate against foreign-based dealers, framing the problem of pornography within jurisdictional arguments and the compass of government power in cultural life.

These warrants raised jurisdictional questions about the meaning of a "continuing act" as well as delicate constitutional questions about the detainment of inward *and* outward mail. They were infringing on the rights of not just foreign dealers but also Britain's own citizens. A young unnamed Member of Parliament (MP) inadvertently raised this issue. A packet sent by him to one of the Amsterdam dealers on the warrant list was detained and

opened. He had presumably placed an order with the dealer. No proceedings were taken against the MP, and warrants against outward going mail were thereafter largely discontinued.[78] This incident highlighted the complicity of its own politicians in the international traffic in pornography and triggered constitutional questions that forced the government officials to look inward at their own cultural preoccupations and exclusions.

Thereafter the constitutional legality of the warrants was frequently debated even while they were secretly put to use. Sir Spencer Walpole, secretary to the Post Office from 1893 to 1899 and president of the Literary Society from 1894,[79] believed in the necessity of these warrants, but he was troubled by the "secrecy" and "caution" involved in their use. He therefore "urged that the public, in whose interest the Government is acting, and who would, there is every reason to believe, want the traffic to be stopped, should be taken into the confidence of the Government, and that postal packets sent to or by dealers in indecent wares should be stopped not by the Home Office warrants issued for the immediate purpose, but by standing authority under a Statute."[80] A meeting between the Home Office and Post Office on the topic of warrants was convened early in 1898. Although the Home Office contended that it had the right under common law to issue the warrants, it wanted the postmaster general to be entrusted with powers to stop mail. There was concern that the legislation of this kind of power to issue warrants would also limit it. Walpole and Hunter, however, felt that the home secretary was better exercised to wield such power. Everyone agreed that legislation was preferable to the current practice of warrants, as noted in the summary report: "It was recognised that one of the advantages of legislation was that it would be possible to stop private letters from would be purchasers openly and publicly, whereas their secret stoppage by Home Office Warrant was open to so much objection that it had been discontinued in spite of its efficacy as a means of destroying a dealer's trade."[81] Subsequent attempts after this meeting to draft new Post Office legislation, however, proved unsuccessful. Council for the Home Office warned of public outcry if the postmaster general were given the power to open letters and advised the continued practice of warrants. Walpole could only reiterate his strong opposition to continuing with a practice that necessitated secrecy and ignored constitutional protections.[82]

Sir George Murray, Walpole's successor as secretary to the Post Office from 1899 to 1903,[83] raised similar objections to the secrecy

behind the indecent warrants and further questioned whether the policing of a literary crime merited the risk of constitutional scandal. The so-called dirty books coming from Paris figured centrally in his arguments, as did Carrington, by now the recognized kingpin of the trade. In a letter to the Home Office in 1899, he noted that "many of Carrington's publications (for example) would pass even the censor of the London County Council" and suggested that "if full grown men (or women either, for that matter) choose to indulge unwholesome tastes of this kind, I think I should be allowing them to do so in their own way without interference."[84] In 1901, with the matter of the warrants still unresolved and draft Post Office legislation idle, Murray voiced more alarmist warnings to the Home Office about the "very questionable practice" that essentially used a political measure (meant to shore up national security) to police a cultural crime:

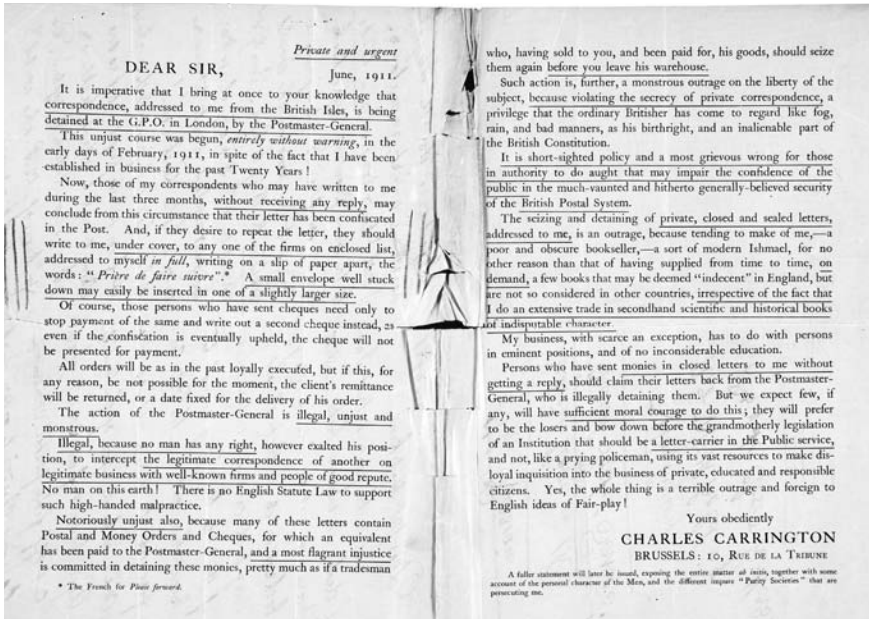
> At any moment the most inconvenient discussion might be raised in the House, and goodness only knows what the result might be.
>
> Just cast your eye over the two volumes which I send with this and which are a fair sample of a good deal of the stuff which comes into our net when you send us out fishing.
>
> I do not mean to say that they are edifying literature, or suitable; but it would be difficult to make out that even the most infinitesimal amount of mischief could be done by allowing them to be delivered to the persons for whom they were intended.
>
> The only reason in fact for detaining them was that they came within the terms of the "Carrington" warrant. Surely the Secretary of State's powers were not given him to be used for purposes of this kind; & what sort of defence could be set up if he were asked to justify his action in ordering the Postmaster General to seize them in the post & detain them? One "hard case" of this kind might destroy the whole thing.[85]

In this same letter, Murray also referred to a passage from Thomas Erskine May's *Constitutional History of England* (1863) on the history of Sir James Graham's Secret Committee of 1844 and the Post Office's secret detention of Italian nationalist Guiseppe Mazzini's mail. Murray paraphrased May's summary of this scandal to underscore the caution the home secretary must take in his exercise of power: "No amendment of the law was recommended and the Secretary of State still retains his accustomed authority. But no *one can doubt* that, if used at all, it will be reserved for *extreme occasions*,

when the *safety of the State* demands the utmost vigilance of its guardians!!" Murray added, "it would be rather interesting to turn to the 'Weird Women'—or whatever the book is called—and speculate on the precise danger to which the State would be exposed by the circulation of a few copies of such garbage as that."[86] *Weird Women* (1901) was a translation of a French collection of short stories by Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly called *Les Diaboliques,* published in Paris by Carrington and subsequently seized and destroyed by customs officials.[87] Murray thus placed a Carrington Paris edition at the center of his concerns about the government's sustained trampling of constitutional rights with these indecent warrants. He effectively pointed out the way in which political and moral policing relied on the same instruments, linking moral regulation with the exercise of state power.

Murray's fears about the scandal that could break around the use of these secret warrants did not bear out in his lifetime. Although the use of warrants came up during parliamentary hearings for the Joint Select Committee on Lotteries and Indecent Advertisements in 1908, and Sir Robert Hunter, still acting as solicitor for the Post Office, described the use of warrants and raised the same objections he had raised in the past, there was no public outcry.[88] It was not until 1911 that the government's use of secret postal warrants first risked exposure and scandal. And it was indomitable Carrington, the expatriate publisher-bookseller of Paris editions and product of the government's cultural policy, who threatened to expose the government's secret practice. He hired the solicitors Messrs. Roberts, Seyd, and Company to bring legal proceedings against the postmaster general for stopping his mail—books that he distributed from Brussels during the period when he was expelled from France. He did not carry his complaint forward, in large part because he had to raise a prohibitive sum of a hundred pounds as security for costs. But he sent letters to his clients wherein he defended his business and railed against the "illegal" use of warrants by the postmaster general and the home secretary, who was by that time Winston Churchill (fig. 1.4). In a personal letter to one of his clients (also seized under the Home Office warrant), Carrington elaborated his case and sought advice on how to fight "the Russian 'Cabinet Noir' in the British Postal [S]ervice":

> On the pretext that I am a "dealer in indecent books"—which I am not, unless indeed every bookseller is in that almost every book contains



Private and urgent

DEAR SIR, June, 1911.

It is imperative that I bring at once to your knowledge that correspondence, addressed to me from the British Isles, is being detained at the G.P.O. in London, by the Postmaster-General.

This unjust course was begun, *entirely without warning*, in the early days of February, 1911, in spite of the fact that I have been established in business for the past Twenty Years!

Now, those of my correspondents who may have written to me during the last three months, without receiving any reply, may conclude from this circumstance that their letter has been confiscated in the Post. And, if they desire to repeat the letter, they should write to me, under cover, to any one of the firms on enclosed list, addressed to myself *in full*, writing on a slip of paper apart, the words: "*Prière de faire suivre*".* A small envelope well stuck down may easily be inserted in one of a slightly larger size.

Of course, those persons who have sent cheques need only to stop payment of the same and write out a second cheque instead, as even if the confiscation is eventually upheld, the cheque will not be presented for payment.

All orders will be as in the past loyally executed, but if this, for any reason, be not possible for the moment, the client's remittance will be returned, or a date fixed for the delivery of his order.

The action of the Postmaster-General is illegal, unjust and monstrous.

Illegal, because no man has any right, however exalted his position, to intercept the legitimate correspondence of another on legitimate business with well-known firms and people of good repute. No man on this earth! There is no English Statute Law to support such high-handed malpractice.

Notoriously unjust also, because many of these letters contain Postal and Money Orders and Cheques, for which an equivalent has been paid to the Postmaster-General, and a most flagrant injustice is committed in detaining these monies, pretty much as if a tradesman who, having sold to you, and been paid for, his goods, should seize them again before you leave his warehouse.

Such action is, further, a monstrous outrage on the liberty of the subject, because violating the secrecy of private correspondence, a privilege that the ordinary Britisher has come to regard like fog, rain, and bad manners, as his birthright, and an inalienable part of the British Constitution.

It is short-sighted policy and a most grievous wrong for those in authority to do aught that may impair the confidence of the public in the much-vaunted and hitherto generally-believed security of the British Postal System.

The seizing and detaining of private, closed and sealed letters, addressed to me, is an outrage, because tending to make of me,—a poor and obscure bookseller,—a sort of modern Ishmael, for no other reason than that of having supplied from time to time, on demand, a few books that may be deemed "indecent" in England, but are not so considered in other countries, irrespective of the fact that I do an extensive trade in secondhand scientific and historical books not indisputable character.

My business, with scarce an exception, has to do with persons in eminent positions, and of no inconsiderable education.

Persons who have sent monies in closed letters to me without getting a reply, should claim their letters back from the Postmaster-General, who is illegally detaining them. But we expect few, if any, will have sufficient moral courage to do this; they will prefer to be the losers and bow down before the grandmotherly legislation of an Institution that should be a letter-carrier in the Public service, and not, like a prying policeman, using its vast resources to make disloyal inquisition into the business of private, educated and responsible citizens. Yes, the whole thing is a terrible outrage and foreign to English ideas of Fair-play!

Yours obediently

CHARLES CARRINGTON

BRUSSELS: 10, RUE DE LA TRIBUNE

A fuller statement will later be issued, exposing the entire matter *ab initio*, together with some account of the personal character of the Men, and the different impure "Purity Societies" that are persecuting me.

* The French for *Please forward.*

1.4. Printed letter by Charles Carrington regarding mail seizures by the British Post Office, June 1911. National Archives, London.

> indecencies if the nose be strong enough to scent them out,—the P.O. confiscates all letters addressed to me. Like a leper of the Middle Ages banned from Society, I am cut off from postal communications, chased into outer darkness—a British subject!
>
> I feel sure its [*sic*] all illegal, monstrous, unjust, anomalous. I wish I knew someone *who talks* to the Home Secretary—(who has been hurried, or flurried into signing a "Warrant")—someone who would *explain* the thing to him. Surely Ld Churchill and Sir H. Samuel are men too greatminded thus to tyrannise over a little Bookman!
>
> I have had indignant letters about it from private people, but no one strong enough to attack, tackle, or worry, strong enough *to explain.* Do *you* know of a M.P. who would?[89]

Carrington's letter showcases his flamboyant personality, but it also importantly problematized the definition of literary pornography and exposed how secret British state censorship worked against its own citizens. He also followed up this letter with an appeal to the home secretary asking him to intervene on his behalf, apparently without success.[90] But interdepartmental debates about the warrants continued. The postmaster general, Sir Herbert Samuel,

informed Churchill that he did not support the use of warrants, and attempts were made to redraft legislation and legitimize the use of warrants by the Post Office, resulting in the Post Office (Illegal User) Bill of 1913.[91] It was finally dropped, though, as war diverted attentions and changed priorities.

The use of these indecent warrants remained a secret through the early twentieth century, but they remained the backbone of a shadowy cultural policy that was linked to the development of international politics and world policing and that eventually led to the 1910 International Agreement against pornography and its ratification by the League of Nations in 1923. They were also instruments for developing surveillance practices and broadening state power, which not only went back to the revolutionary wars of 1848 sweeping Europe, but also extended to the First World War, when the mail of political radicals and foreigners was monitored. In other words, their use against foreign pornographers can be read as part of a wider political practice that linked political and sexual subversion and national and international objectives with a desire to extend jurisdictional control over social and cultural exclusions—a desire, according to Giorgio Agamben, inherent in the fundamental exercise of state power. In these political conditions, amidst the internationalization of pornography, a publishing paradise grew in Paris and began to draw rebels, outcasts, and opportunists from Britain and, before long, America as Paris editions kept being smuggled across borders and expatriate communities developed and converged. I discuss in my next chapter how government cultural policies changed and developed in response to this expatriate outpost, from the interwar years through to postwar reconstruction.

CHAPTER 2

BRITISH CENSORSHIP, FRENCH LIBERALISM, AND PARIS EDITIONS, 1918–1960

In 1915, a British postal official noted that the traffic in pornography coming from France was virtually "killed by the war."[1] But the business in Paris editions that developed with the internationalization of pornography quickly resumed after the fighting ended, newly linking pornography with experimental modernist writing, and expatriate Britons with lost Americans engaging in different kinds of internationalism as they moved through Gay Paree after the First World War. Powerful myths of anglophone repression and French liberalism have proliferated to explain the allure of Paris during these years. It was the city of dance halls, theaters, and *boîtes de nuit* full of flappers, chorus girls, prostitutes, homosexuals, and lesbians, alongside colonial immigrants and *exotiques*. The city seemed to offer social experiences and expressive liberties unimaginable in either the British Empire or America. Visions of Parisian pleasure grounds and its denizens were contrasted with images of Britain's "old grey ones," who made hunting down immoral literature their pastime, and "illiberal Puritanism" in America, which took the form

of Comstockery, Prohibition, and anti-vice campaigns.[2] An expatriate literary haven built up since the 1890s thus flourished against these restrictions, bringing together British, American, French, and other exiled writers in unprecedented ways through overlapping pornographic and modernist publishing and distribution circuits.

Though the disposition of French press laws was fundamentally liberal and allowed Paris to become a kind of literary sanctuary, this static picture of anglophone repressiveness and French liberalism does not bear out when looking more closely at the unfolding cultural politics surrounding the internalization of pornography from the interwar period to postwar reconstruction. Behind this polarizing stereotype were, in fact, numerous negotiations, policy reversals, local factors, and personality-driven agendas in different national and international contexts that made for a more convoluted history, which was complicated further by international realignments following the devastation of the Second World War. A wealth of materials buried in British and French government archives—from lists of banned books, to government decrees, to minutes from international conferences—reveals the changing international climate and cultural policies that created the conditions for Paris editions for over forty years until they finally became redundant.

Jix's "Censorship Regime," 1924–1929

One of the most important findings in British government records from the interwar period is that cultural policy on literary censorship at home was closely interrelated to the business of Paris editions abroad. These records show how British government book banning in the 1920s, usually interpreted as a local phenomenon and a sign of British repressiveness, responded to the expatriate literary haven across the Channel.

Myths of British repressiveness turn especially on the sensational literary trials and government book banning of the 1920s that have come to be seen as the excesses of modernist culture wars and the folly of puritanical politicians hostile to modernist literature. Adam Parkes has looked at the ways in which modernist writing evolved within this culture of censorship, whereas Jonathan Dollimore has analyzed the subtle forms of literary censorship exercised both by the crown prosecution and the defense during high-profile literary trials, most famously the trial against Radclyffe Hall's lesbian novel *The Well of Loneliness* (1928).[3] How this modernist "theater of

censorship" developed in counterpoint to Paris editions and the liberal cultural politics of the French has not yet been considered, however. Paris was not simply a place where authors such as James Joyce and Radclyffe Hall found refuge from British and American censorship; by the 1920s, it was the center of an expatriate trade in sex books that fed the British censorship machine, the nation most closely affected by the trade. Edward Said's method of analyzing political culture contrapuntally (linking actions usually kept apart and enlarging the global scale of interaction) allows us to reconsider modernist censorship in relation to the dirty books coming from across the Channel.[4] This censorship was informed by Anglo-French relations set against the internationalization of pornography, crucially shaping the British government's thinking about indecent materials, its own repressive cultural politics, and its participation in international agreements. In other words, we can look anew at this well-known chapter of British literary censorship and repression as a symptom of the pornographer's paradise flourishing in Paris.

William Joynson-Hicks (aka Jix), who served as home secretary from 1924 to 1929 in Stanley Baldwin's Conservative government, and Sir Archibald Henry Bodkin, director of Public Prosecutions during the 1920s and delegate at the 1923 League of Nations international conference on obscene publications, have been much maligned for their "unofficial but state-directed system of censorship." Christopher Pollnitz has argued that Joynson-Hicks and Bodkin were "engaged in procedures, including postal censorship and the accumulation of data on private citizens, which went beyond the powers given them under the 1857 Obscene Publications Act and the 1908 Post Office Act."[5] In fact, Joynson-Hicks and the other "old grey ones," as D. H. Lawrence liked to call them, were using measures that dated back to the 1890s when Henry Matthews and Herbert Asquith were home secretary and implemented the "indecent warrants" and backroom foreign diplomacy. Although Joynson-Hicks's tenure as home secretary was characterized by the "extreme puritanism and illiberalism" that saw him orchestrate police sweeps on nightclubs, after-hours drinking, public parks, and pornography as part of his metropolitan reform, many of his powers and instruments for rooting out pornography were already in place.[6] What was notable about his "censorship regime" was not that it was engaging in questionable surveillance and literary censorship, therefore, but that it developed and hardened these longstanding practices to

unparalleled extremes. The way in which his office handled a very real threat of exposure reveals just how repressive and secretive his office was and, most importantly how this repressiveness was particularly motivated by "the flood of filth coming across the Channel."[7]

The explosive controversy in 1929 that erupted over the postal seizure of D. H. Lawrence's poetry manuscript of *Pansies* was the event that threatened to expose the government's secret mail surveillance and censorship. Lawrence had mailed his manuscript in a registered packet from Bandol in the south of France to his agent in London. The seizure likely happened because his name had become synonymous with pornography with the publication of his explicitly sexual novel *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928) and its wide distribution in Paris from where it was being smuggled across the border.[8] On February 28, Joynson-Hicks was grilled in the House of Commons about the seizure of Lawrence's mail, and the use of home secretary warrants. He repeated several times that there was no literary censorship in the country and no official "body of censors." He also insisted that Lawrence's manuscript had been sent through "the open book post from abroad" and detected during a random rate check. This was a cover-up, but one not revealed at the time. James T. Boulton's examination of Home Office and Post Office archives has shown that the Post Office had opened a sealed package sent by Lawrence. It is unclear whether the Post Office acted unilaterally or was operating under a Home Office warrant, but Joynson-Hicks had to aver to the House that no state official could open a sealed packet without a warrant from the home secretary.[9]

Even if the full extent of the government's censorship and surveillance practices never came out at the time, there was a public outcry against state censorship, postal interference, and literary prosecutions, which the government closely monitored. A number of magazines published pieces by well-known literary figures. The publisher Victor Gollancz insisted that *The Well of Loneliness* was "in no degree pornographic"; the writer Storm Jamieson linked the banned modern novel of her day to "my Shakespeare to-morrow"; and Rebecca West and Leonard Woolf also weighed in against government censorship.[10] This controversy culminated with the publication of Lawrence's essay "Pornography and Obscenity" (1929) and Joynson-Hicks's rival essay "'Censorship' of Books" (1929).[11] Lawrence famously contended that classics like *Jane Eyre* were "pornographic," and that this repressed sexuality was "the dirty little secret" of British culture. Some of the most important national

debates on obscenity, pornography, literary merit, and censorship of the period thus erupted over the seizure of a packet that came from France, a detail that has been overlooked but reveals the international framework of these debates.

A deeper investigation into the government's response to the scandal surrounding the seizure of Lawrence's parcel, moreover, reveals the disturbing extent to which its practice of literary censorship was part of a repressive cultural agenda that not only aimed to shore up the government's powers, but also operated as a countermeasure to a burgeoning expatriate book trade and French notions of literary freedom. In the wake of the scandal, the Home Office undertook a policy review that involved repairing its public image, but also furtively consolidating its censorious stance against doubtful literature. An internal memorandum drafted by assistant secretary Sidney W. Harris, likely for Joynson-Hicks to review, spelled out how an upcoming meeting with the conservative pro-censorship London Public Morality Council could be handled to manage these competing interests. The meeting was to be made public, so that the Home Office could again openly declare that it "entirely repudiates any wish or desire to act as a censor of books or of anything else." But while establishing distance from the council, which had its share of "cranks," the plan also intended to maintain communication with the group, as it would help educate the public about the "decent standard." In noting "how little support is given in the public press or otherwise compared with the vituperation which comes from the "literary interest," Harris outlined the government's mandate to "inform" and "stimulate" the public—while being cautious about taking on showy public prosecutions that would only advertise what it wanted to suppress. Harris thus spelled out the need to tread carefully in such a climate: "Public feeling [for literary interest] runs high in certain quarters and we might well run the risk of losing some of the powers that we have already."[12]

These powers were the spate of domestic laws that policed obscene publications and the Home Office's role as central authority under international agreements against pornography signed in 1910 and 1923.[13] Postal surveillance, made possible by the "exercise of the Secretary of State's powers to order the opening of letters under warrant," was the principal means of policing incoming and outgoing traffic from suspect dealers, according to Harris. Unlike earlier intragovernmental debates about the legality and ethics of these warrants, they are presented here simply as having been

used with "great success." In effect, the warrants could be justified through the international agreements, allowing the government to enact its repressive cultural policies without attracting public attention through flashy prosecutions. The Home Office's international role in policing pornography was not just an excuse to extend its powers at home, however, as Harris's policy report also highlights the government's efforts to stop the traffic in pornography coming from France. Although records of these warrants are sketchy, their use seems to have increased exponentially during Joynson-Hicks's term as home secretary. Between 1924 and 1928, 575 warrants were issued against foreign dealers, plus additional warrants for specific periodicals and books that were circulating as Paris editions, such as Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* and Hall's *The Well of Loneliness.* In 1928, for example, 101 out of the 115 warrants were against French dealers, confirming the view that the "worst of the indecent wares entering this country come from France."[14]

Further sign of the hardening of the government's censorship practices and their enmeshment with the Parisian book trade following the Lawrence scandal was the organization of the Diplomatic Book Conference that was held at the ministère des Affaires étrangères in Paris on October 21 and 22, 1929. The purpose of this meeting was to follow up complaints made by the French government, on behalf of booksellers and publishers unions, about arbitrary book seizures by British Customs. The British government, more cautious after the Lawrence scandal, and concerned that customs officers had acted unilaterally in the past, finally agreed to meet.[15] At the Diplomatic Book Conference, the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP) and Home Office officials, including Harris, met with representatives from the Bibliothèque nationale, the ministère des Affaires étrangères, the Sûreté générale, the Cour d'assises, the Comité de la Societé des Gens de Lettres, and the Syndicat des Éditeurs. The French delegation, which highlighted the extent to which literature and the arts were institutionalized and protected in France, lobbied for writers and publishers whose economic interests it wished to protect in the face of British censorship. Aware of the futility of agreeing upon a shared definition of what was pornographic, the French delegation proposed a practical solution for its writers and publishers by asking the government to come up with a list of banned books. The Home Office agreed to compile such a list, deliberating issues such as the status of translations and literary merit, and thus confirming Lawrence's mental picture in



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BOOK.	AUTHOR.	PUBLISHER.
Sous Verre.	-	Librairie des Editions Modernes, 54 Faubourg St-Martin, Paris.
Sleeveless Errand - The.	Norah C. James.	Scholartis Press, 30, Museum Street, London.
Steps and Gloves.	Lord Kidrodstock.	-
Some Limericks.	Norman Douglas.	Privately.
Two Flappers in Paris.	A. Cantab.	Privately.
Trois Filles de Leur Mere.	-	Privately.
Train de Plaisir - Le.	-	-
Turbulentes Ecolieres.	Maurice de Vindas.	Lib. Franco-Anglaise, 54, Rue Bonaparte, Paris.
Temple des Tortures - Le.	Jean de la Bouque.	Amateur-Biblio, 2, Rue Guisarde, Paris.
Terreur du Fouet - La.	Amie Van Rod.	Edition Parisienne, 9 Rue du Faubourg Montmartre, Paris.
Triomphe du Fouet - Le.	Jean de Virgans.	Lib. Franco-Anglaise, 54, Rue Bonaparte, Paris.
Tortionnaires du Labrador - Les.	Jean de la Bouque.	Amateur-Biblio, 2, Rue Guisarde, Paris.
Tendres Epigrammes - Les.	Cydno la Lesbienne.	Bibliotheque des Curieux, 4 Rue de Furstenberg, Paris.
Ulysses.	James Joyce.	John Rodker, Paris.
Uber das Geschlechtsleben im Altertum.	-	-

2.1. British Customs list of banned books from France, 1929. National Archives, London.

"Pornography and Obscenity" of "the Secretary of State and a few of his grey ones decid[ing] for a moment that they *were* public opinion *in propria persona*?"[16] The only thing he left out was that these men gathered over books coming in from Paris.

The first official list of banned "French Books" prepared by the Home Office in consultation with Customs is a fascinating document, evidence of coordinated government censorship that lumped pornography and modernist writing into one category: foreign filth coming from across the Channel. Over 250 books with English and French titles were recorded, with typewritten entries organized in columns from left to right under the categories "Book," "Author," and "Publisher" (fig. 2.1).[17] This thoroughly bilingual list was presented alphabetically. Thus *L'Academie de fouet* was grouped with *Amatory Experiences of a Surgeon* and *Pauline the Prima Donna* with *Parisennes flagellées* according to logic that privileged neither language nor national literature. Obscure Victorian titles with limited

print runs, such as *Autobiography of a Flea* and *Randiana or Excitable Tales* also suddenly became significant for their presence in an internationally circulated list of banned books that included heavy hitters like James Joyce's *Ulysses*.[18]

Another curiosity of the list was that the bibliographical data was raw and often incorrect. Titles were sometimes misspelled or incorrectly cited, and the names of authors were only occasionally provided, many of them being obvious pseudonyms: Mise X, Aime van Rod, Th. Cudgel. Although following a bibliographical logic to identify these banned books, the list remained insensitive to the parodic elements of pornographic publishing. More detailed information appeared about publishers whose addresses were listed, but there was no extended research or interpretation of the data. There was no information on print runs or distribution scale, which would have been limited to about two hundred to five hundred copies. There was no effort to uncover privately published material or clandestine imprints, such as the Erotica Biblion Society or Maison Mystère, nor was there any attempt to draw connections among different imprints with the same address, such as P. Brenet and Librairie Artistique both listed at 66, boulevard de Magenta, Paris. Given the obvious limitations of the bibliographical data, the purpose of the list of banned French books is puzzling until one realizes that it served less the interests of the French government than it did the English government. It was a self-justifying document, there to illustrate the large-scale commercial activity in pornographic books from France and thus rationalize the heavy-handed recourse to Customs searches and seizures. The series of additions to this list over the next year only built up this idea.

The list's total absence of temporal references also helped build the impression of a large-scale industry in pornographic books from France. No dates whatsoever were provided, not only making it difficult to know whether these titles were first editions, reprints, or piracies, but also making it seem as though all of the listed titles were in circulation. A closer bibliographical study of the Paris publishers named on the list, however, reveals that they were active in the city at different times and for different markets over a roughly forty-year period. The list collapsed these publishers and their book titles together into one moment in space and time. There were books published by Isidore Liseux, who published primarily in the 1870s and 1880s, predating Charles Carrington and the rise of Paris editions. Many of Carrington's publications were also on the list,

such as his English translation of Louÿs's *Aphrodite,* first translated in 1906. The list also included books by the generation of publishers who published flagellation erotica after Carrington up until the 1920s.

Finally, many of the most important and controversial literary works of British modernism were on the list—not just *Ulysses* (1922), but also *Lady Chatterley's Lover, The Well of Loneliness,* Frank Harris's *My Life and Loves* (1922–1927) and Norah C. Jones's *The Sleeveless Errand* (1929).[19] The banned-book list thus condensed forty years of publishing, showing how it eschewed the bibliographer's temporal logic for a spatial logic that tied all pornographic books to Paris. Its bibliography might be described as a geopolitical tool that reflected the government's censorious practices as well as the conceptual linking of pornography, modernism, and Paris editions. The customs officer who helped draw up the list even acknowledged that many of the listed books might be "dead," and out of circulation.[20] Yet a preoccupation with an uncontrollable expatriate book trade was one of the driving forces behind Joynson-Hicks's censorship regime and a reason why the book remained one of the central problematics of pornography in Britain.

An even broader international perspective on the home secretary's preoccupation with literary pornography links it to the fundamentally liberal disposition of French laws that gave the book special status. The law of August 2, 1882, regulating immoral works, set the book apart from other forms of pornography and made it all but exempt from punishment, turning the book into the cultural symbol of literary freedom in France's Third Republic. There were French politicians like Senator René Bérenger, whom the London *Times* called "one of the foremost antagonists of license in the Press," who actively campaigned for the toughening of French legislation and the special license granted to books.[21] In fact, Bérenger was instrumental in organizing the international community against the traffic in pornography, presiding over the Congrès international contre la pornographie in 1908, which prompted purity leagues to attend from all over Europe, and where French novelist and president of La Societé des Gens de Lettres, Georges Lecomte, spoke of how France's reputation as a pornographer's paradise was desecrating its moral reputation and literary patrimony—a recurring theme in French nationalist cultural politics for both the right and left.[22] Bérenger was also the one who followed up on the resolutions of this congress to lobby the ministère des Affaires étrangères

to host the joint International Conferences on the Suppression of the White Slave Trade and the Circulation of Obscene Publications in 1910, which saw France take up the lead role in the fight against the international traffic in pornography. But despite Bérenger's attempts to punish foreign booksellers and publishers in Paris (who made up more than half of the dealers he claimed) and strip the book of its special status, the notion that "le livre en France est libre" and "le livre . . . reste a part" (books in France are free, and books . . . are something else altogether) ended up being an integral stumbling block at the conference, incorporated into the final agreement of 1910 and again in 1923 by a subsequent agreement signed by the League of Nations.[23]

This French book clause, I contend, ultimately allowed an expatriate outpost for pornographers to thrive in Paris and triggered the Home Office's obsession with pornographic literature, both at home and abroad. Joynson-Hick's "censorship regime," in other words, was the counterpart to the "regime de faveur" in France, creating a dialectic of repression and liberalism that can be understood in this wider international context.[24] Ironically it was France's reverence for the book that drove British literary censorship and, for that matter, discussions of literary merit. The presence of Paris editions flagrantly published just across the Channel and protected by both French and international laws kept the English "sex book" in the spotlight and made political debates about pornography and literary merit highly relevant through the 1920s and 1930s.[25]

Yet, despite the seeming intransigence of French liberalism in the international context, in France it was at times a different story. As Joynson-Hicks cracked down on sexual and moral degeneracy in the streets and on the sheets, Paris's prefect of police Jean Chiappe initiated a massive anti-vice campaign in the city that saw police forces raid nightclubs, boarding houses and hotels, American hangouts, bathhouses, kiosks, and monitor bookshops from Montmartre to Montparnasse. Police records from this period reveal that a good number of small bookshops that specialized in flagellation pornography (both in French and in English) were targeted. Exclusively anglophone bookshops such as W. H. Smith and Brentano's were not exempt from similar scrutiny, showing that this expatriate publishing and distribution circuit was not always the foreign oasis it was imagined to be and prefiguring the purges that would sweep Paris again during the Nazi occupation.[26] Although an internationalized Anglo-French dialectic of cultural liberalism and repression

crucially informed British censorship, these positions were not in fact as fixed as they seemed. Tensions between national and international interests and various policy reversals still remained after the Nazi occupation of Paris and the Second World War.

The Occupation and Wartime Censorship, 1939–1944

The trade in English sex books was impossible in occupied Paris when most expatriates were looking for ways out, the only tourists were the Nazis, Jews were sent off to secret concentration camps, commerce was restricted, borders were closed, mail was censored, and paper was scarce. The German military authority also closely controlled books, and book burning was a key piece of National Socialist cultural politics. The particular set of laws and protections that had allowed an expatriate publishing haven to develop in Paris was violently superseded by the military occupation. This violent interruption had a long-term effect, moreover, ultimately setting the stage for the realignment of the cultural politics of pornography in Europe.

The beginning of the end of this Parisian literary oasis was in the months leading up to the start of the Second World War. The French government passed a new decree that signaled a hard turn away from the nation's principles of literary freedom and special regard for the book. This decree of May 6, 1939, modified one of the most valued pieces of legislation passed during the Third Republic—the law of July 29, 1881, which protected the freedom of the press. A statement released in the *Journal officiel de la République française* announced that this new decree was intended to prevent fascist political propaganda from circulating in France by means of the foreign press.[27] Existing laws were perceived to be inadequate in stopping the insidious inflow of these ideas and safeguarding the interests of national security. Though the law of July 29, 1881, regulated French newspapers and journals distributed abroad, and the law of July 22, 1895, regulated the distribution of foreign newspapers and journals written in other languages, the book remained free, as did newspapers and magazines written in French and published in France. Here especially was the point of vulnerability: such publications could be under foreign influence and even bankrolled by political enemies. This new decree thus seemed politically exigent and gave sweeping discretionary powers to the ministre de l'Intérieur to ban the circulation of subversive publications of all

kinds, whether published in France or abroad, whether written in French or in another language, whether in newspaper, periodical, or book format. The aim of this decree was political rather than moral censorship, but it removed many of the protections that had made Paris a publishing haven immune from the moral purges periodically sweeping the city of its pornographers and immigrants. This fascist-era legislation would infiltrate French cultural politics, becoming in fact a powerful instrument against Paris editions after the war.

The cultural policies of the German military authority imposed the following year had a far more immediate and brutal impact on French publishing and foreign books. The German Army entered Paris on June 14, 1940, and France signed an armistice agreement on June 22 that went into effect three days later. For the next four years, France was under the legal control of the Vichy government and divided into occupied and unoccupied zones. Within days of the occupation, the German military authority set up a complex program of political and racial censorship that targeted radio, cinema, and literature. Two different, but overlapping administrations were in charge of literary censorship: Propaganda-Abteilung Frankreich (which was divided into regional groups like the Propaganda-Staffel of Paris and took orders from the Ministry of Propaganda) and the German Embassy.[28] A series of crackdowns and policy initiatives executed over the next three years put a stranglehold on the French book trade and took an increasingly hard-line approach to English literature published or distributed in France, successfully crushing the trade in Paris editions.

The censorship program began on July 1, 1940, when French publishers were ordered to have their new publications vetted by the Bureau de Presse of the German military authority. By late August 1940, the German military (with the help of the French police) organized a seizure of books from bookstores, libraries, and publishers across France based on a list of banned books that had been made in Germany. In one day these fascist authorities visited 3,118 shops in Paris, and 461 shops closed as a result. Parisian police records show that purveyors of pornography were closely monitored in the months that followed.[29] One month later, the French Syndicat des Éditeurs (publishers' union) signed an accord in which they agreed to comply with the military authority's censorship guidelines. In less than two months, a two-pronged censorship program was put into action. As Gérard Loiseaux explains, the fascist authorities not

only targeted books already in circulation, but also new publications, forcing publishers to engage in self-censorship if they wanted to stay in business.[30]

A list of banned books was also published in September 1940, as part of the agreement between the Syndicat des Éditeurs and the occupying forces. The first *Liste Otto,* which was presumably named after the German ambassador in France, Otto Abentz, targeted books that were anti-German, communist, or written by refugee Jewish authors. It was organized by publisher, and most of the major French publishers were affected—Gallimard, Flammarian, Fayard, and Hachette. Also on the list were many leading contemporary French authors whose writing was considered politically subversive.[31] English books were also specifically targeted in a succession of increasingly repressive measures. On July 15, 1941, the French Syndicat des Éditeurs released a circular with an order by the Propaganda Abteilung Frankreich banning new editions of British and American publications in translation as well as new editions of any English books published after 1870. At first, published books could stay in circulation, but another order soon came down that forced their removal from displays in shop windows.[32] All the English books in the rue de Rivoli shop windows, which had given the arcades their international atmosphere and had British officials wringing their hands as far back as 1903, were gone. A second *Liste Otto* soon followed on July 8, 1942, which expanded the list of undesirable literature to include translations of English books (except the classics), books by Jewish authors (except scientific studies), and any biographies of a Jewish figure (no matter the ethnicity of the author). A third *Liste Otto,* published on May 10, 1943, not only included an appendix of banned Jewish writers, but also banned all English books both in their original form and in French translation.[33] By 1943 an English book in the city would have been a rare sight. Only the classics escaped the ban—a small loophole that some publishers and vendors managed to exploit, including young Maurice Girodias, future founder of the infamous Paris Olympia Press and publisher of Vladimir Nabokov's *Lolita* (1955).[34]

Pornographic literature did not come under the direct purview of fascist censorship, even though National Socialist cultural policy included the crackdown on abstract art and the closing of brothels. The occupation stranglehold on the French book trade, however, put a stop to any trade in pornography, whether in French or English. French literature generally underwent a moral reform

during the war, especially in the unoccupied zone where politicians, journalists, and writers sought to explain their defeat through their purported literary excesses and peccadilloes.[35] It was not simply a matter of censorship, self-incrimination, or collaboration, however. Essential materials for book production were scarce and under tight control with the authorities wanting a full account of book costs and with paper best acquired on the black market.[36] Jean-Pierre Dutel confirms that activity was very limited among pornographers. Reprints of *Gamiani, ou Deux nuits d'excès,* the over-the-top novel attributed to Alfred de Musset featuring nuns, donkeys, monkeys, and lesbians in various acts of congress, circulated on odd types of paper during the war.[37] There were also a couple of original pornographic titles published clandestinely in 1943, including Georges Bataille's *Le Petit* published by Georges Hugnet, and André Thirion's *Le Grand ordinaire* published by Robert J. Godet, but they had very small print runs of between fifty and one hundred copies. A manuscript note signed by Hugnet on a copy of Bataille's *Le Petit* (a title alluding to the anus) also offers evidence of the dangers of publishing and bookselling at this time: "Only a few copies of this book, published by me in 1943, were numbered by hand, this work having been interrupted by an undesirable visit by the occupation authorities and never continued afterward. I guarantee the accuracy of the print run, numbered or not, of this book, *Le Petit,* written by Georges Bataille."[38]

As for the market in Paris editions, it was gone with the expatriates and tourists, the foreign circuits of pleasure, and wartime mail censorship. "English was again a 'foreign language,'" Girodias recalled in his autobiography.[39] Many of the publishers and booksellers who dealt in Paris editions, whether they were French or foreigners, simply disappeared, mostly without a trace. The Paris Didot-Bottin commercial directories from the period are a chilling record of these disappearances. Bookshops in the galleries around the Palais Royal vanished from the directory one after the other. Select Bibliothèque and Groves & Michaux, two known dealers in English and French pornography, vanished after 1941, possibly targeted by the military roundup. The listing for publisher-bookseller Charles Hirsch, who published in 1934 the important French edition of the homosexual novel *Teleny,* lasted until 1944, surprisingly long given his last name. In his 1943 manuscript on erotic literature, the book collector Charles Dawes was not sure if the "charming old gentleman" who had been there "up to the outbreak of the war in

1939" was still there.[40] Sylvia Beach, who published Joyce's *Ulysses* from her Left Bank English-language bookshop Shakespeare and Company and was famous for bringing expatriate literary groups together, closed shop a few months after English books began being targeted by the *Liste Otto,* though she stayed on through the war. Other French publisher-booksellers around Paris who dabbled in Paris editions resisted a little longer, such as the flagellantia dealers Jean Fort and Paul Brenet (who lasted until 1944), but among the prewar dealers who published and sold English pornography only the Briffault brothers outlasted the war. Their publishing and bookselling business, however, was predominantly in fine French editions, a specialization that diversified their market and likely helped them survive the war.[41]

There is no evidence that pornographic and political publishing and distribution channels intersected as they had during the French Revolution to resist Nazi cultural repression.[42] In the case of Beach, her books were hidden away in an unoccupied apartment above her bookshop, out of circulation. Her acts of political and cultural dissent were thus limited to personal gestures—such as her refusal to sell a copy of Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* to a German soldier and her gift of a Paris edition of *Ulysses* to Françoise Bern-heim, the Jewish volunteer at her bookstore.[43] Other English-language publishers in Paris who managed to stay in business, like Maurice Girodias, were labeled collaborators; his father was Jack Kahane, the expatriate Anglo-Jewish publisher of Paris editions in the 1930s and founder of Obelisk Press. Girodias chose to remain in Paris during the occupation and took his mother's maiden name in order to conceal his Jewish heritage. On the eve of the occupation, he hastily removed the plate announcing (in all capital letters) "OBELISK PRESS, JACK KAHANE" from the bottom of the courtyard at his father's Place Vendôme office, which would become the German military authority headquarters. That same year, he founded a new imprint called Éditions du Chêne, through which he published books on beaux arts, some general French literature, and a few English classics.[44] He made a name for himself with his illustrated volumes on French castles and cathedrals, painters such as Picasso and Matisse, and decorative arts from furniture to tapestry. In shifting from pornography to beaux arts, Girodias used the distribution networks already put in place by Beach and his father prior to the war. The famous English bookshop Galignani, just south of Place Vendôme at 224, rue de Rivoli, carried Girodias's Éditions du Chêne art books

during the war as it had once carried Beach's editions of *Ulysses* and Kahane's editions of Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* (1934).[45] The preexisting pornographic distribution networks of Paris editions were thus used to circulate books that were arguably divorced from their political context and nostalgic for an idealized French past full of Normandy castles. It was not Girodias's Éditions du Chêne imprint, however, that led fellow publishers to accuse him of being a collaborator after Liberation. It was the fact that he had published some German translations of these art books and had also published five books in English during the occupation by Joseph Conrad, Somerset Maugham, and others, somehow managing to pass them off as classics. He had received permission from the military authorities and worked with the Leipzig publishing house Tauchnitz, which specialized in continental editions.[46] At the end of the war he was accused of collaborating with the Nazis and was twice brought before the Cour de Justice, first on November 2, 1945, and again on November 29, 1946. In both instances the charges were dismissed.[47] Girodias's literary connections were the business of necessity for a secret Jew with English papers: Paris's formidable immigration services notoriously handed over lists of foreign-born Jews to the Germans.[48] How Girodias made his way during the war, moreover, demonstrates how the force of cultural fascism transformed vanguard expatriate publishing into an outlet for safe English classics and pictures of Normandy castles. When the Nazis retreated from the capital in late August 1944, American novelist and war writer Ernest Hemingway came by Beach's shut-up Left Bank bookshop, shot a few enemy soldiers in the street, and then went off to Place Vendôme to "liberate" the cellar of the Ritz. One of Paris's most famous literary expatriates liberated two of the symbolic centers of the Paris editions, but his impulsive acts led to a military investigation, and the literary freedom and permissive publishing environment enjoyed in France before the war was not restored with Liberation.[49]

Liberation and the End of Paris Editions, 1945–1960

In the aftermath of the Second World War, a realignment of European and transatlantic cultural politics gradually changed the conditions that had given rise to Paris editions. Girodias wrote frequently about the political reversals that made his postwar return to publishing English sex books from Paris increasingly challenging.

Writing about the difficulties that faced his Olympia Press, he claimed that "the astonishing, the incredible truth of the matter is that moral and artistic freedom has become quite suddenly a reality both in Britain and in the United States, while the very concept is being denied, denigrated, and officially ostracized in France."[50] Hyperbole aside, he was to some extent right. Successive French governments under both the socialists and center-right parties were swept up by moral reform, political infighting, and anti-Americanism, which affected the entire French book trade in the wake of the German invasion. By contrast, the British Home Office increasingly questioned how it was handling pornography and began redrafting new legislation on obscene publications. These geopolitical reversals changed the specific set of conditions that had made Paris a literary oasis, ultimately bringing to an end the foreign-produced sex book. Currents of liberalism and repression can thus be traced through both French and British cultural politics through these years, complicating once again a straightforward account of a simple policy reversal.

On the French side of things, factionalist French governments during the Fourth Republic—motivated by a variety of political factors fused with postwar reconstruction and nationalism—took an intolerant (albeit inconsistent) stance on pornography. One of the most significant strikes against the lauded freedom of the press in France and the special status of the book was the new law passed on July 16, 1949, by the Socialist government that gave a commission instituted by the Ministre de la Justice the power to control and outright ban "pornographic" publications within reach of minors under the age of eighteen. The new law was passed with the support of the communists who were intent on regulating the diffusion of suspect American culture.[51] This commission accrued a power over literature that the politicians of the Third Republic had abrogated long ago with the law of 1881 that protected freedom of the press. Another significant piece of censorship legislation was the decree of May 6, 1939, which was passed just before the outbreak of the war to stop the spread of fascist propaganda but after the war became a powerful instrument against undesirable foreign literatures. Daniel Bécourt's comprehensive *Livres condemnés, livres intérdits* (1972) shows that more books were banned and brought before the courts in the 1950s and 1960s than throughout the duration of the Third Republic.[52]

Girodias in particular was targeted by these repressive new laws

and found himself in constant legal trouble for his publications even before he started Olympia Press in 1953. His French edition of Henry Miller's *Tropic of Capricorn* (1946) got him into difficulty, and his English edition of Miller's *Sexus* (1949) was banned outright in 1950.[53] Between 1954 and 1963, moreover, fifty-five Olympia Press titles were banned—sometimes twice for good measure. One of the most wide-reaching bans on Olympia Press titles was authorized by the Ministre de l'Intérieur, Jean Gilbert-Jules, on December 10, 1956, under the wartime decree against foreign publications, and included such titles as Henry Jones's *The Enormous Bed* to Nabokov's *Lolita,* published the year earlier. Over the next few years, both the law protecting minors and the decree regulating foreign publications were deployed to ban Olympia Press titles.[54]

Girodias fought these bans volubly, making the repressive turn in French cultural politics known, and in 1957 published a compilation of essays and personal documents titled *L'Affaire Lolita* in which he exposed British meddling in French literary affairs and condemned the French government for yielding to international pressure: "What is much more amazing is that the French government aligns its censorship methods with those of a foreign country: this internationalization of intellectual obscurantism is a new phenomenon that merits attention."[55] He also accused the Ministre de l'Intérieur of abusing his powers by applying the decree of May 6, 1939, to ban his books. *Lolita* and his other publications were not political, he insisted.[56] He was right that the British government was lobbying the French government to shut Girodias down, but his reading of French politics was oversimplified. From Marshal MacMahon's purging of homosexuals and political subversives in Paris in the 1870s, to the monitoring of Montmartre anarchists and cabarets in the 1890s, to Chiappe's purges of colonial rebels, pornographers, sexual deviants, and communists in the 1930s, the enmeshment of political and sexual reform was embedded in French politics.[57] But a new array of laws now enabled repressive cultural initiatives to be taken further at this particularly volatile time in French national history. Postwar puritanism and moral panic were running rampant: the French press condemned the screen sexpot Brigitte Bardot for immorality, and Simone de Beauvoir made Bardot the iconic representation of a phenomenon called the "Lolita syndrome."[58] Factionalist politics also created enemies everywhere, according to Girodias, who suspected that he was targeted by political enemies for publishing a work that denounced the political corruption of

the socialist party SFIO (La Section française de l'internationale ouvrière) after the Liberation.[59] This censorious turn in French politics can also finally be seen as an after-effect of European fascism. Wartime censorship not only lingered in the French mentality, but also in its juridico-political structures. The very same decree that was passed to suppress foreign propaganda was used again and again to ban dirty English books.

On the British side of things, meanwhile, the shift away from Home Office preoccupation with pornography and the monitoring of Paris editions unfolded gradually through the 1950s. Home Office officials under Prime Minister Winston Churchill and successive Conservative governments revealed new concern about lurid American paperbacks and also renewed worries about Paris editions of "gross obscenity" sold openly in Paris and bearing the warning on the fly leaf "prohibited from circulation in English speaking countries."[60] These were Girodias's books and, as he suspected, the Home Office's central authority on pornography ran interference with the French government to stop these books being smuggled from Paris. The Home Office sent at least six letters between 1953 and 1956 to the Ministre de l'Intérieur, the last even trying to force a side-session at an upcoming UNESCO conference in order to discuss Girodias.[61] British Customs officers were also on the lookout for his books, repeatedly seizing his titles and prosecuting London booksellers who secretly stocked them under the revised Customs Consolidation Act.[62] Complaints from the public, such as the following, were followed up to the full extent of the law:

> Do you know that obscene books published in France by the Olympia Press are being sold in the West End of London?
>
> The Lisle Book Shop of Lisle Street, W.C., has an outer and inner part. The outer part displays more or less legal stuff. At the end of the shop away from the street there is a counter, a door, and a partition (left to right as you face it). The Olympia Press obscenities are kept in a wooden box on the floor under the counter. Just above them are kept the French nude books. Behind the partition on the right of the door are boxes of roneoed [copied using a roneograph] obscene books and a box of obscene photos done up in cellophane.[63]

Yet even as the British government was cracking down on Olympia Press books and putting pressure on the Ministre de l'Intérieur, it was reexamining its literary policies more generally. One of the first indications of this shift was a draft agreement made

between the Home Office and the director of Public Prosecutions in 1954 to devise a list of "protected works." The rationale behind the list was that the works were "of such great literary merit that they have long been recognised throughout the civilised world as established classics." Seizing these works or placing them before the courts would simply "excite public derision and to bring the law into contempt." A number of ancient classics, French novels, and Paris editions that had orders of destruction against them in the past now appeared on the protected list: these included Emile Zola's *Nana* and *La Terre,* Joyce's *Ulysses,* and Louÿs's *Aphrodite*. Translations into English were determined to be acceptable, as long as the translations were not deliberately salacious. This list of protected books, in contrast to the 1920s list of banned books, revealed the government's move toward more permissive policy on literature and a growing appreciation for literary merit and an international standard.[64]

Additional efforts to reform Victorian obscenity law signaled the government's attempts to distance itself from state censorship. A historical note titled "Obscenity in England," drafted by the Home Office while a version of the obscenity bill was circulating, emphasized that the government should take its hands off the policing of literature: "The wise administration of the law would leave literary matters to be determined by the public—both readers and critics—and concentrate its energies in checking the purveying of pornography by disreputable publishers and booksellers."[65] In 1957, after the second reading of the Obscene Publications Bill before Parliament, the Select Committee on Obscene Publications was appointed, which further questioned certain government policies, inquiring particularly about the rumors circulating in both the British and French press about the government's banning of Olympia Press books.[66] The Home Office tried to justify its actions before the committee, but internal documents show that it was also aware of the "considerable literary reputation" of some of the titles.[67] After also questioning preemptive seizures on the part of the Customs Office, the Select Committee recommended that the new obscenity legislation allow a defense of literary or artistic merit and permit expert testimony to be heard in criminal proceedings.[68] Both recommendations were finally incorporated into the 1959 Obscene Publications Act as a defense of public good—the defense that Penguin Books successfully argued in the 1960 obscenity trial over its publication of Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1960).[69]

In *The Banned Books of England and Other Countries,* Alec Craig commented on the limits of the 1959 obscenity statute, noting that, "Neither the Customs nor the Post Office are mentioned in the Act, so seizures of imported goods and detentions of postal packets without court order will continue, and interference with personal possessions and private correspondences will still be legal."[70] Despite the limits of the law, the government's records show that it was in fact far less invested in monitoring pornographic literature and tracking Paris editions than it had been in the past. A symbol of the Home Office's diminished involvement was "the dismantling of its 'obscene publications library'" sometime in the early 1960s. Within the government there was debate over the need to maintain this library, but also the shared conclusion that the Home Office was "concerned with the adequacy of the law, but not with its enforcement in particular cases."[71]

The interplay of French, German, and British cultural policies on pornography dating from the Second World War eventually meant that there was no longer a need for the continental production of English sex books. Transatlantic publishing networks were, moreover, far more feasible with globalized travel and communication, meaning that an expatriate outpost of pleasure did not have to be so close to home. By 1966, Girodias had packed up his bags and left for America to start the New York Olympia Press. I take up his story—as well as those of the expatriates who gathered in Paris before him, beginning with the fascinating Charles Carrington in the 1890s—in the next section, where I uncover the dissident history of the publishers and booksellers who were behind these Paris editions.

II

PUBLISHING

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CHAPTER 3

CHARLES CARRINGTON, 1867–1921

Shifting from the cultural politics that led to the rise and fall of Paris editions to the principal personalities behind their production and distribution, we discover front and center the man who went by the name Charles Carrington (1867–1921). He was the Paris-based publisher-bookseller who appeared repeatedly on British government watch lists and who helped turn the city into a publishing haven for banned English books. Over a thirty-year period he published nearly three hundred books. These included reprints of Victorian pornographic classics like *Venus in India* (1898), a story of the sexual adventures of a married officer, and the *Yellow Room* (c. 1907), a whipping fantasy. Original works were also part of his list, including his two most successful books from a literary standpoint, *The Memoirs of Dolly Morton* (1899) and *Suburban Souls* (1901).[1] He also dared to republish Oscar Wilde's novel *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1901) when its British publisher would not touch it, and he issued English translations of contemporary French novels by Pierre Louÿs, Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly, and Anatole France, which would have been deemed obscene in English courts of the period.[2] Carrington built up his publishing career by negotiating Anglo-French cultural politics and operating in the interstices of two cultures.

But, who was the man who published these books from abroad? How did he become the most notorious expatriate publisher of English pornography? And how was his life shaped by the internationalization of pornography and the dynamics of Anglo-French cultural politics? These questions have been difficult to answer because Carrington's life has been shrouded in mystery and rumor, some of his own making. My research has uncovered records and letters in French and British archives that offer a clearer picture of the man behind the books. They reveal the extraordinary life of a socially ambitious outsider:[3] a man perpetually out of place, whether ethnically, geographically, culturally, or linguistically, in ways that likely awakened his passion for foreign travel and scholarship, but also disconnected him from home, family, and nation. His life was representative of many of the other expatriate dealers on the fringes of society who dealt in pornography and lived eternally on the run from the law and the state. Such were the career trajectories of Adolf Estinger, C. G. Bellak, Richard Gennert, August Brancart, H. S. Nichols, and other dealers chased down and monitored by the British government, sometimes in league with the French. What makes Carrington's biography exceptional is the way in which he used his outsider status for social and commercial advantage. Being out of place provided him an opportunity for self-reinvention and intellectual stimulation.

For the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, social and geographical distance means being continually out of step. His example is nineteenth-century writer Léon Cladel, the son of a provincial saddler who was "eternally" displaced and could never quite fit into the Paris literary scene.[4] In his view such people often make lousy speculations on life and career. Carrington's pattern of moving and changing his name throughout his life, however, reveals a more complicated picture of expatriation. His cultural and geographical distance became his means of social progress and transformation: it allowed him to rise from his humble beginnings in London to become one of the most influential expatriate publishers of his generation. He also took extraordinary personal and professional risks, for which he sometimes paid a high price. Being an expatriate not only shaped his publishing business, but also became what defined him and his approach to literature and pornography. His biography is that of a man who lived his life *strategically* out of place, sometimes to his advantage and sometimes not. Though he was exceptional in many ways, his life nonetheless helps us understand the

political, social, and cultural forces that gave rise to the figure of the expatriate publisher and the emergence of Paris editions.

Ferdinando from the Ghetto

Carrington was born Paul Harry Ferdinando on November 11, 1867.[5] The year of the Second Reform Act when 1.5 million men in Britain were granted the vote and the year the first ship passed through the Suez Canal, Carrington began his life in Bethnal Green, one of London's poorest districts in the East End. In the last decades of the nineteenth century the East End was equated with poverty, crime, and prostitution. In 1891, John Henry Mackay wrote, "The East End of London is the hell of poverty. Like an enormous black, motionless, giant kracken, the poverty of London lies there in lurking silence and encircles with its mighty tentacles the life and wealth of the city and of the West End."[6] Against this slum backdrop where one-third of the population lived on or below the margin of poverty, and where the Jack the Ripper Whitechapel murders occurred in 1888, the Ferdinando family seems to have been relatively comfortable, with stable housing and steady employment. His parents, John Isaac Ferdinando and Sarah Elizabeth Laxton Cox, raised a large family of nine children (one died in infancy) in Bethnal Green and Mile End Old Town. Carrington's mother came from a family of shop-keepers, and his father was a commercial traveler who sold Indian rubber, silk goods, and wholesale bedding over the years. Charles Booth's color-coded poverty map of late Victorian London shows that the streets on which the Ferdinando family lived were relatively prosperous—shaded pink for "fairly comfortable" rather than black for "vicious, semi-criminal." Booth's notes on the area around St. Peter's Street (now Cephas Street), where Carrington was born, indicate that it included "many cabinet makers and bootmakers amongst its working class population. A good deal of casual work, but people generally orderly. Many tradesmen, some doing a fair business."[7] The family's relative prosperity in the midst of poverty is one of the first instances in which Carrington was out of place in his surroundings, though Charles Booth's study of the various districts in the East End emphasized the social and economic diversity of the people, an aspect of the demographic that was overlooked in sensational reports of the mean streets in the "empire of hunger."[8]

If young Carrington lived the social contradiction of being a comfortable East Ender, he lived the even more important ethnic

contradiction of being an English Jew. His mother and patrilineal grandmother were gentiles, but he carried his ethnic heritage in his father's name. The name was of Portuguese origin and memorialized the wave of Sephardic migrations during the latter half of the seventeenth century. The Ferdinando family was exogamous and thoroughly anglicized, and family members were baptized and married in the local churches, but their name revealed their ethnicity and centuries-old exile and emigration. Though it is hard to say exactly what Carrington's relationship was to his vestigial Iberian-Jewish heritage, he would have always been reminded of it as he walked by the many Jewish burial grounds and synagogues in the East End where over 45,000 Jews lived by the end of the century. Despite how he self-identified, his name, his address, and even the way he spoke would have marked him as Ferdinando from the ghetto with a narrow range of career opportunities.[9]

The typical career opportunities and social networks available to a person with a Jewish name born in the East End can be traced through his family's employment history. The men generally had jobs as tradesmen, while the women were servants until they married. Carrington's grandfather George Ferdinando was a weaver, a typical Jewish occupation. His eldest brother, John Joseph Ferdinando, took up boot making and cabinet making, which were other types of Jewish occupations.[10] His sister Ruth Ferdinando married Alfred Oates, a coffee keeper who later became a smith, whereas his other sister Frances Charlotte Ferdinando married a packer named James Ashley. Young Carrington, according to the 1881 census, was out of school by the age of thirteen and working as an office boy. Carrington's rise to become an autonomous Paris publisher was therefore exceptional for someone of his social background and rudimentary education. How he mapped a different career trajectory for himself, as well as for some of his brothers, is part of his remarkable story. He approached his life as though he was out of place, as though he felt that something was wrong with how he had been invented by his family and by his nation. He took matters into his own hands, pursuing his reinvention and social transformation with a series of strategic name changes.

Bucket-Shop Runner

Up until now we have known very little about Carrington's formative years in London. The poet Vernon Symons once said that at the

age of sixteen he kept a book barrow in Farringdon Market. This information points to how Carrington might have gained an education and formed connections with other book dealers.[11] Dan Rider, a bookseller from the period, described how a "motley assortment of book dealers from the humble barrow-men of Farringdon Road, and the New Cut to the big men of the West-End like Walford, Maggs, Reeves, &c" would rendezvous at Hodgson's Book Auctions in Chancery Lane to buy their stock.[12] These types of informal encounters and associations, along with the public libraries and reading communities among the working classes of the East End, might have helped him acquire his remarkable knowledge of literature and science, book design, world history, and half a dozen languages in different alphabets, including French, Italian, Spanish, German, Arabic, and Russian.[13] In these sorts of venues, he might also have developed relationships with the West End's rare book dealers and small independent publishers of pornography such as Henry Vizetelly, William Lazenby, Edward Avery and his Amsterdam contacts, as well as Leonard Smithers and H. S. Nichols. Following bibliographical evidence, Peter Mendes speculates that Carrington worked as a traveling agent for some of these dealers during the late 1880s and early 1890s, smuggling materials between London, Paris, and Amsterdam. He suggests, moreover, that Carrington was one of the London brokers behind the most famous work of Victorian pornography, the eleven-volume diary *My Secret Life* (c. 1888–c. 1894), published in Amsterdam by August Brancart.[14]

Morsels of information from Carrington's contemporaries and informed bibliographical speculation help explain how a working-class Anglo-Jew might have aspired to an intellectual life. The successful careers of other undercapitalized publisher-booksellers with little social capital, such as the Decadent publisher John Lane, show how it was a fairly accessible vocation in the post-1880 "bubble economy" in publishing. Such a career offered access to gentlemen's networks, especially through the overlapping foreign, rare book, and clandestine book trades.[15] Perhaps the most striking indication that Carrington saw his way out of the ghetto through intellectual labor was when he reported to a census officer in 1891, at the age of twenty-three, that he was a "Student of Philosophy."[16]

But during this time in London, Carrington also made his living in other surreptitious ways under a variety of assumed names. He began on another career path that he never talked about in later years and about which no one outside his family seems to have

known. Electronic databases of British periodicals and newspapers have expanded the scope of historical research and made it possible to uncover Carrington's secrets. Sometime in 1891, the year he became engaged to Jeanne Héloise Espargillière in Paris,[17] relocated to Essex along with other family members, and reported to Essex census officers that he was a "Student of Philosophy," he was also doing business as an independent stockbroker in the heart of London's financial district. He drummed up business by mailing out circulars titled "How to Make Money Quickly" and promised fabulous returns to clients who let him manage their funds. Charles Stanhope was one of the first names he used to run his business. Later, he used the name Charles Brandon, as seen in an advertisement he placed in the *Leeds Mercury* promising "Honest, straightforward, and legitimate" service for small outlays.[18] His business was not above-board but, according to Todd Endelman, not an unpredictable career trajectory for an ambitious young Jew: "There was a well established tradition in Anglo-Jewry of seeking one's livelihood in ways that respectable Englishmen considered peripheral to the economic well-being of the country. . . . Jews gravitated to the periphery of well developed occupations and trades, establishing themselves in areas of the economy not dominated by native Englishmen, often on the fringes of social respectability or at least outside the mainstream of conventional routines and practices."[19]

The *Financial Times* frequently wrote exposés on Carrington as well as his younger brother, George Samuel Ferdinando. His brother ran the same kind of business from different addresses and under a variety of names, such as: Stanley Chester and Co., Ashley, Gibbs, and Ashley (the name of one of their brothers-in-law), and William Ewart Harvey (a combination of Prime Minister's Gladstone's first and middle name and his father-in law's surname).[20] One of his offices was located on the first floor of 10 Gracechurch Street in the city, and was "fitted up in what Ferdinando would no doubt term 'tip-top style.'"[21] The *Financial Times* exposed both of the Ferdinando brothers as bucket-shop runners. (A bucket-shop runner was a fraudulent broker who purported to make trades on behalf of clients, but actually engaged in no transactions, essentially putting everything into a bucket rather than making real securities transactions.) The fraudulent activities and ill-gotten gains of the Ferdinando brothers brought the smart young city men repeatedly before the Lord Mayor's court. In 1892, when a civil action was brought against George Samuel, then operating as Stanley Chester

and Co., the *Financial Times* ran a series of racially slanted articles on the case. "Constant complaints are received at the Old Jewry of the proceedings of unscrupulous persons of Ferdinando's stamp," said one report, and another noted how the Ferdinando brothers used the same tactics "in order to lay hold of the shekles [*sic*] of the unwary."[22] A year later, the *Financial Times* ran another series of articles about a case brought against Carrington, who was then operating as Charles Brandon. One article titled "The Metamorphoses of Ferdinando" focused extensively on Carrington's use of various aliases:

> In 1891 he trades as "Stanhope and Co., at 48, Finsbury-circus, but before that he had traded as "MacNairn." He chose that name because his own name did not sound like an English one, although he was English. He only traded as MacNairn for about a month, and he then altered it to "Stanhope," because he did not like the sound of "MacNairn." Afterwards he traded as "Arnold Lansdale and Co, at 142 Basinghall-street. He was the sole proprietor of that business, and his brother had nothing to do with the business at all. He then went to 60, Fore-street, and traded as "Charles Brandon." He altered the name because he thought that "Stanhope" was too long a name.[23]

A follow-up article poked fun at the choice and frequency of his name changes:

> This Paul Ferdinando began business as a bucket-shop runner years ago under the name "MacNairn," which he chose because his real name did not sound like an English one. What "MacNairn" sounds like we do not venture to guess. One day, it struck himself that "MacNairn" was not euphonious, and he became Stanhope and Co. Finally, he turned into Charles Brandon, "because he thought Stanhope was too long a name." We wonder how much shorter Brandon is.[24]

The *Financial Times* reporting reveals how Carrington saw the Ferdinando name as a social burden in English society and responded by repeatedly changing his name to fit in and gain advantage. His name changes became tactics to manage his swindling transactions as well as his social transformations. He followed the practice of other Iberian Jews in the nineteenth century who anglicized their names, such as the money lender John King who changed his name from Jacob Rey in a "self-conscious move to deemphasize his Jewish background."[25] It is also telling that Carrington kept his bucket-runner name Charles when he later transformed himself

into a gentleman publisher in Paris. Taking the name Charles was one of the first steps in his reinvention.

Carrington's precocious early career as a stockbroker was stopped short by the arrest of his brothers in Dublin in 1894. His brother George Samuel, along with their teenage brother Frederick, was indicted on nine counts of obtaining money on false pretences in Dublin. Operating two businesses under false names (William Ewart Harvey and Patrick Burke), they collected money from clients and then usually reported back huge losses. Investigators could find no evidence of transactions having been made and gave testimony that their business was a fraud and a sham.[26]

Racialized language again permutated the reporting, as when the *Freeman's Journal* described the two brothers: "The prisoners, who appeared to be young men of about 22 or 23 years, were led into court at a quarter of two o'clock, and roamed about for some time chatting with a number of the spectators. They had Jew-like faces, and were clad in light macintoshes."[27] A later physical description of George Samuel Ferdinando at roughly sixty-eight years notes that he was 5 feet and 2 inches tall, with fair complexion, gray hair, and blue eyes—a description that does not particularly read as Semitic.[28] But the ethnicity of the Ferdinando brothers continued to play an important part in the closing arguments of the trial. The defense argued that the brothers traded under assumed names because they "could not use their real name Ferdinando in Dublin." Their solicitor argued, "As to the name being Ferdinando, if any two men set up any establishment in Dublin, except a cook shop, with the name of Ferdinando, he might as well hang his hat on it." Meanwhile the crown instructed the jury to "look in the dock and see the two Jews, Harvey, McDonald and Co, of Dublin, Worcester, Paris, and New York, and Patrick Burke and Co," mocking their cosmopolitan pretensions and generating laughter in the courtroom. The jury took just five minutes to reach a guilty verdict, with young Frederick bursting into tears upon hearing it. The two brothers were later sentenced to twelve months with hard labor, though not imposed a fine because there were no assets and "obviously they were not persons who had any money of their own."[29]

Other information came out in this trial that offers insight into Carrington's subsequent career choices. First, the bucket-shop scam taught him how to drum up business. The brothers sent out circulars to addresses pulled from directories, the same trolling tactic that Carrington and other dealers later used for selling English

pornography from Paris. Secondly, this trial was probably the reason why Carrington left London for Paris. His name was mentioned during the proceedings when it was revealed that the company's registration papers had been signed at his London office. He was even named as the kingpin behind the confederacy: "The real business consisted of Brandon and Co. Carrington was a very large business. . . . These men are absolutely both very young, and the real person was the other, who carried on Brandon and Company, and this was a branch of Brandon and Co."[30] The possibility that the police would go after his business next, and the mounting pressure from the investigative reports in the *Financial Times* on bucket-running schemes, meant that it was too dangerous to continue running his business in London. His brothers' trial also revealed that five thousand pounds had been passed through their National Bank account and led to suspicion that the money was flowing to Carrington. In other words Carrington had probably accumulated enough capital from his years as a broker to immigrate to Paris and set up his own publishing and bookselling business.[31]

Carrington's career as a deceptive stockbroker, who kept one eye on the lookout for angry clients and the other on the lookout for the fraud police, does not shed light on his involvement with the West End pornographic book trade, but does provide a plausible explanation for why he left London for Paris, apparently never to return. It also establishes his pattern for changing his names and concealing his ethnic heritage. Besides the threat of prosecution and incarceration, the social burden of bearing the wrong-sounding name was a strong motivation to start fresh as someone else and somewhere else. An expatriate life beckoned. A letter from the French embassy in Britain to the ministère des Affaires étrangères in 1902 indicates that expatriation was seen as a viable option for a number of young Londoners of Carrington's generation: "Englishmen have a taste for life abroad, the desire to seek their fortunes in other countries, and it is not so much need that incites them to leave their country as the wish to acquire a better situation in new lands."[32]

Becoming Charles Carrington

Sometime around 1895, at roughly twenty-eight years old, Carrington launched his career as a bookseller and publisher in Paris. It was around this time that he also stripped himself of his Portuguese name and Jewish ethnicity and transformed himself into an English

gentleman—Charles Carrington. The name Charles was a vestige of his bucket-running days, but he could also have taken his new name from the British politician Charles Robert Carrington, the Marquess of Lincolnshire (1843–1928), who was close to Edward VII and had an influential role in successive Liberal governments in the late nineteenth century.[33] Carrington was the only name by which he was known professionally for many years. His renaming was both a divestment of various social limitations and an investment in new difficulties of a different type. It marked, along with his marriage to a French woman and his move to Paris, a separation from his roots and a self-reinvention, but it also positioned him as a foreigner in Paris. As he did not choose a French name, he ensured that he remained always an expatriate—cut off from father (*pater*) and cut off from homeland. Historically the concept of expatriation has fluctuated to describe those who have been banished and those who have chosen to live abroad. This vacillation in meaning captures some of the contradictions of Carrington's expatriate life in Paris as an English gentleman publisher.

Carrington's first publications from Paris revealed several types of initial self-branding. For one, he positioned himself as a gentleman publisher by specializing in luxury books whose high-quality material aspect—handmade Van Gelder paper in large crown octavo format with fancy type and illustrations—reflected high-quality production values. He also specialized in Orientalist literature and translation, which were synecdochic for his own internationalism and fascination with cultural difference. He published English translations of Arabic sex manuals under titles like *Marriage-Love and Woman,* or *The Book of Exposition* (1896) and *Old Man Young Again* (1898). These were inspired by Sir Richard Burton's Kama Shastra Society of Benares publications from the 1880s that had caused a stir in the British press and raised cries of "esoteric pornography."[34] By publishing these titles, he modeled himself after the unorthodox explorer and diplomat while restaging his Orientalism from Paris. These Arab sex manuals, moreover, were translated by an English "Bohemian," (possibly Carrington himself, as he knew Arabic), which might have opened up another kind of self-branding as young Decadent artist along the lines of Aubrey Beardsley and Ernest Dowson, who were living themselves to death in Paris during the late 1890s.

If Carrington's rise as a Paris publisher-bookseller involved presenting himself as an English gentlemen and forgetting that he was

Ferdinando from the ghetto, his forgetting was not absolute. His three shops in Paris (on 32, rue Drouot; 13, rue du Faubourg Montmartre; and 11, rue de Châteaudun), were in the Faubourg Montmartre quarter, which was the city's second most important Jewish area after the Marais. These streets just off the busy Grands Boulevards that cross the west–east axis of the city were culturally multifaceted: they housed the city's art scene, the headquarters of the *Figaro* and other French weeklies, a number of fine bookshops, covered passageways, commercial shops, cabarets and entertainment halls, bars that fronted prostitution rings, and the largest synagogue in Paris.[35] Perhaps Carrington was drawn to this quarter of Paris by chance, but he might have had a more personal connection to it as one of the city's Jewish quarters. Among the papers discovered by the Dublin police and presented at his brothers' trial in 1894 were numerous letters from Paris.[36] Their content remains unknown, because the police could not decipher the French, but various kinds of business links might already have been in place before his removal to Paris. At any rate Carrington's most enduring relationship was with the Faubourg Montmartre quarter, where he lived and did business for much of his career. He made much of his address in his publicity and on his letterhead, often pointing out that it was just off the animated Grands Boulevards. Thus while adopting the part of the English gentleman in Paris, he might have found personal and commercial connections through his rejected Jewish ethnicity.

A police report on Carrington's most well-known address at 13, rue du Faubourg Montmartre (where he was located between July 1896 and the fall of 1907), offers fascinating insight into how he juggled and blurred his real and professional identities as a foreigner in Paris. He ran his business out of the apartment in which he and his family lived. A painted sign was posted on the outside door of the building which read "Ch. Carrington, libraire, ouvrages français et anglais au 3e étage escalier B." (C. Carrington, bookseller, French and English books, staircase B, 3rd floor.) Once clients climbed up staircase B to his third-floor apartment facing the court, they reached a platform that had two doors. One door had an engraved plaque with his name and clients had to ring in order to be admitted. There he ran his business out of a few rooms, where two employees worked taking care of the mail-order business and another took care of sales in the main room. Carrington's family occupied the adjoining apartment. The police noted that he paid an annual rent of 2,200 francs, catered to a wealthy Anglo-American

clientele, and appeared prosperous. The report stated, "On dit le M. Carrington très intelligent, travailleur infatigable et d'une conduite regulière." (Mr. Carrington is said to be very intelligent, a tireless worker, and to exhibit normal conduct.)

The purpose of the investigation was to confirm that Carrington's business in pornography was public rather than private. It also importantly revealed that his business was discrete: it was not intended for the casual passerby, but for those clients already familiar with his business from his prospectuses or by reputation. The client had to find the building, walk into the courtyard, locate escalier B, climb the stairs, and then ring the bell in order to buy his expensive and infamous books, confirming a later report by the French government that these operations were no longer shops in the streets, but simple apartments in private buildings, closed except to the initiated.[37] What the police investigation did not reveal, however, was the remarkable way in which Carrington balanced his professional and private lives. The two doors of his premises, one leading to Carrington's business and the other leading to the Ferdinando family home, symbolized this double-life architecturally. Parisian police knew him as Carrington, and he operated his business under that name, but his wife and children went by the name Ferdinando.[38] One can only speculate how he managed on a day-to-day basis his two names and his coterminous lives as pornographic publisher and family man.

Even though Carrington used his alias to build an identity around his niche business in English sex books published from Paris, he might not have anticipated the difficulties of being an Englishman in France. For a start, it is not a given that his British customers accepted his pose as gentleman publisher. Oscar Wilde, in semi-exile in Paris after his two-year prison sentence for "gross indecency," portrayed him as someone who was as odd and as out of place as his books. In a letter to his publisher Leonard Smithers on August 12, 1898, Wilde wrote, "I saw Carrington the other night. He tells me of a wonderful book of poems you have published, and has promised to let me see it. Carrington looked twisted and hysterical. What a curious type he is."[39] It is impossible to glean Wilde's precise meaning, and he wrote nothing else about the publisher, but one wonders what social peculiarity excluded him from his company and esteem. A Cockney accent? A "Jew-like face"? Wilde was Oxford educated; his publisher Smithers was a Sheffield-educated solicitor; and Carrington had a great deal of social distance from them both.

Nor perhaps did Carrington anticipate how French writers would see him: an expatriate does not always correctly read social cues. One of his hack writers, Hugues Rebell (a Frenchman born Georges Grassal), detected something outlandish about Carrington—in his strange smile, eccentric manners, and hysterical tendencies: "Carrington, said Rebell, with his strange smile, corresponded exactly to the kind of character one imagines after seeing his catalogue. With his red-rimmed eyes, his gaze alternating between excitation and dejectedness, and his strange manners, he is the classical satyr type that one sees facing the judge in certain trials that need to take place behind closed doors. He will die young, for I fear that in his private life he is a bit too much the man of the books he publishes."[40] This picture of Carrington as a satyr is damning, for it revives the stereotype of the venal, satyr-like Jew. Carrington himself adopted the image of a laughing satyr as one of his first vignettes, but this was more in keeping with the bibliographic tradition of European clandestine publishing. Another contemporary description of Carrington by the French bookseller Marc Loliée marked him as an outsider in a different way. Loliée wrote that he was a "very accentuated Anglo-Saxon type—sportsman—having practiced fencing and boxing—thick lips—speaking French with a strong English accent."[41] These accounts of Carrington variously suggest that he remained an outsider in both the French and British literary communities in Paris.

As an Englishman in Paris, Carrington was also not protected by the state. It is true that immigrants in the city could easily slip through the cracks in this period. Although a law passed on August 8, 1893, required foreigners seeking work to register with city hall, he appears to have avoided doing so, as did up to 70 percent of foreign workers.[42] Nonetheless, the threat of expulsion loomed from the beginning of his career. His first brush with French law was in the spring of 1899 when he faced multiple charges of selling obscene illustrations and photographs, some of which were prepared for his books *Études sur la flagellation à travers le monde* (1899) and *Stories from the Folk-lore of Russia* (1897) (fig. 3.1).[43] The authorities were tipped off after a complaint was made by Carrington's nemesis Senator René Bérenger, who had connections with the National Vigilance Association (NVA) in Britain. After the NVA sent him one of Carrington's pornographic catalogues, he wrote to the Procureur de la République asking for an investigation to be opened into Carrington's operations. Carrington wrote directly to

the judge, using his firm's letterhead, defending the illustrations on artistic, historical, and scholarly grounds, and explaining that the photographs of nude women were from his private collection. He also marshaled supportive testimony from some of the French writers he had published, including Hector France, Dr. Cabanès, and Dr. Jullien, but on July 5, 1899, he was found guilty of "outrage aux bonnes moeurs" under the law of March 16, 1898, by a judge of the Tribunal de première instance and fined two hundred francs. Throughout these proceedings, Carrington went by his alias, and the name Ferdinando was never mentioned in his file. When he provided information about his background, he suppressed his father's surname. He identified his father simply as Jean (dropping Ferdinando as well as his Jewish middle name Isaac). Perhaps he thought that his real name would put him at greater risk of expulsion.[44]

In October 1901, Carrington was brought before the Tribunale correctionnel de la Seine on similar charges, this time for mailing a prospectus for a French translation of an Arab sex manual titled *La Jeunesse rendue aux vieillards* (1898). Once again, he was tried and pronounced guilty under his assumed name, and given a much heavier fine of 3,000 francs.[45] Carrington turned both of his brushes with the law into marketing vehicles for his vanguard publishing persona, but his second time before a French court also brought the real threat of expulsion. This possibility was raised at his trial and rumors about it circulated in diplomatic channels and British purity leagues. He blamed Bérenger for persecuting him and being the puppet of English prudery ("la Pudibonderie anglaise"),[46] but the fact was that despite his French wife, three children, and many years doing business in Paris, he was still a foreigner whose situation in France was by no means secure.

A Modern Ishmael, or the Misfortune of Being English

Carrington's expulsion order from France finally came six years later on May 1, 1907. By then, his first wife had passed away,[47] and the French authorities had uncovered his real name Ferdinando. The precise reason for his expulsion is unknown, but fellow expatriate pornographers in Faubourg Montmartre named Gray Arthur Tindall and Richard Gennert also received expulsion orders the same day.[48] A law from December 3, 1849, passed in the aftermath of revolutionary unrest in Europe, gave the right to the Ministre



3.1. Seized illustration from *Stories from the Folk-lore of Russia* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1897). Tribunal correctionnel de la Seine, Archives de Paris.

de l'Intérieur to expel foreigners from French territory. Carrington resisted his expulsion by launching a letter-writing campaign urging the minister to reverse his decision. In this campaign he positioned himself as the blameless victim of English interference, but he was also paying the price of expatriation.

A stash of manuscript letters that I discovered in France shows that Carrington tried to enlist the help of French authors to suspend his expulsion order. In these letters, which he wrote in competent French, he emphasized not only his personal ties to the country, but also his contributions to French letters and business. Most striking, however, are the figures of exile he invoked to describe his predicament, which he drew from both Hebraic and Christian traditions. One of his addressees was the French poet Jehan Rictus (1867–1933), who was known for *Les Soliloques du pauvre* (1897).[49] The men were still on cordial terms despite the fact that the publisher had previously turned down his manuscripts and later got dragged into a libel complaint launched by Rictus against the poet Laurent Tailhade. In a letter sent to Rictus on June 12, 1907, when Carrington was still in Paris, he explained his fight to stay in France:

> I will however need to gather a certain number of letters from artists, writers, merchants etc. testifying to their surprise and dismay at seeing a man such as myself, established in business for fifteen years already, and known to be honourable, unjustly afflicted in this way.
>
> I have already collected quite a stack of such letters, my friends having hastened, with the generous impulsiveness natural to Frenchmen, to reply to my appeal and I now ask you, Sir, to write me a few lines in testimony to the handsome French-language artistic books that it has been my joy to produce in the past and which I hope to continue to produce in the future.[50]

It is clear from this letter that Carrington's defense strategy against "le malheur d'être anglais" (the misfortune of being English) was to impress the authorities with his connections to French artists and his contribution to French literature. A letter sent by Carrington to Rictus from his exile in Brussels more than six months later, however, showed that his campaign had failed. In this letter from December 31, 1907, he spoke of being abandoned by his French "friends" and used Christian imagery to describe his banishment:

> I have just learned of the efforts you plan to make to get me out of here and I thank you most wholeheartedly.

> For five months now I have awaited a redeemer, a Christ, whose word would be heeded, and who could achieve my deliverance. I have knocked at many a door, but alas, in vain! I know of your great energy and courage, and I know you to be a man of great resourcefulness: I thus have hope in the good thoughts you hold for me.[51]

An entry in Rictus's *Journal quotidien*, however, indicates that the poet had some reservations about helping Carrington: "Il a fait des ouvrages pornographiques et cela m'ennuie de tenter quoi que ce soit pour lui: mais je promets d'agir à la manière occulte: si je peux."[52] (He has published pornographic works, so I dislike the idea of doing anything for him. But I promise to act discreetly, if I can.) There are no subsequent entries in his journal to indicate that he ever followed up on the matter.

From Brussels, Carrington also wrote a desperate letter to the well-connected and influential French novelist Anatole France (1844–1924). He likely saw him as his best chance for a reprieve. Carrington was the first to translate France's bestselling novels into English, but his personal relationship to the influential French man of letters was probably quite distant. It is also not certain that he even obtained copyright for his translations: the Berne convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works did not come into effect until 1910. His letter to France, dated December 16, 1907, flattered the author and thanked him for his supposed promise to speak to the French prime minister Georges Clemenceau, but also expressed outrage over his own lack of recognition in spite of his contributions to French culture and society. The letter reads as follows:

> Dear Sir,
>
> When I learned of your promise to Hafiz's translator, Mrs. Tannenberg, to write to Mr. Clemenceau about me, my heart filled with hope and courage. I do not wish to bother you with a long story, but since I have been here, despite the great consolation I have found in studying Spinoza, Plotinus' *Enneads* & H. Spencer's *First Principles,* I cannot suppress my ever-present desire to see my young son in France.
>
> I therefore write to thank you, Sir, for your kind intervention, for I know the weight your words carry with the President. In many prospectuses I have named you the most brilliant and subtle writer in France today, and your protection of an afflicted publisher will prove that you are also the most generous of men.
>
> The following is a list of books I translated into English (on my own initiative and at my own expense) *One Hundred Merrie and Delightsome*

Stories; Brantome: Lives of Fair and Gallant Ladies, The Most Delectable Nights of Straparola; Michelet: The Sorceress; Loti: A Spahi's Love Story; not to mention *Thais,* and *The Well of Santa Clara—all of them in luxury editions.*

I appeal to you, as a fervent bibliophile; rather than banish me, they should have erected a statue in my honour for *any one* of these books!

In my *French-language* title *Straparole* alone I invested (approximately) *25,000 francs,* not to mention the huge sums swallowed up by other editions; however, in sending me away from Paris, they are preventing me from earning a living and my business is naturally suffering as a result.

To create my books, I have employed *French artists, writers and printers*—I should therefore be accorded a bit more consideration.

Another very serious thing: my *11-year-old son* at school in Garches needs me, my guidance and my affection. He lost his valiant mother (a Frenchwoman) seven years ago; I also have *my late wife's elderly parents* living in the Limousin region. *The father is 80 years of age* and I am their only source of support.

I should not be expelled from France: *I have not acted dishonourably.* I have had *two fines* (the first nine years ago for seven etchings, denunciation by Bérenger; the second for a prospectus advertising a translation from the Arabic, five years ago, denunciation by Gabriel Monod!!)

That is the sum of my sins! For the past nine and five years I have been calm, finding work for French artisans, raising my *three* children, paying my taxes like any other citizen, and for this I am rewarded by being made to stay out of the country.

Your humble and *very* grateful servant,
Charles Carrington[53]

This was a preposterous letter to send to Anatole France. What must have France thought about Carrington's histrionic tone, consolations in philosophy, and persecution mania? What must he have thought of Carrington's demands for his own public statue? A more affecting consequence of his being out of place and a non-citizen was his separation from his youngest son in Paris and his elderly in-laws in Limoges. It is not known if France did in fact intervene. In a letter to Rictus, Carrington himself questioned France's support.[54]

Carrington did not have the option of returning home after he was expelled from France because the British authorities would have most likely arrested him. Instead he fled to Brussels. Not much is known about his time there. He seems to have taken up

with a Flemish mistress, Albertina (Tina) van Halle, with whom he later had a son.[55] He continued to run his publishing business under his Carrington name. There are indications that he tried to fit into the Brussels publishing scene by issuing biographies of Belgian Decadent writers such as Maurice Maeterlinck and Camille Lemonnier. He also continued to publish English pornography, possibly using his nephew James Ashley as a Paris agent and collaborating with August Brancart, before he too was expelled from France.[56] There are further signs that Carrington made arrangements with Parisian dealers such as Roberts and Dardaillon and H. Legrand to distribute his books, revealing the transnational exchanges that stemmed from expatriate literary production.[57]

Carrington's conflict with the British postmaster general in 1911, which we first saw back in chapter 1, provides one clue as to how he endured his years in Brussels. In correspondence with his clients over the secret and "illegal" use of warrants that cut him off from postal communication, he generated two different and striking images of his exile. First he likened himself to a "modern Ishmael," referring to the Old Testament story of Ishmael's banishment from his home by his stepmother. He also compared himself to a "leper in the Middle Ages banned from Society . . . chased into outer darkness—a British subject!"[58] Letters like this suggest that Carrington experienced his years in Brussels as a form of double exile from both Britain and France. This was the dark side of expatriation and the price of being Charles Carrington.

Ferdinando Redux

Sometime around 1913, at the age of forty-six, Carrington finally returned to Paris. His expulsion from France had been officially suspended in early 1911.[59] His return to Paris came with yet another name change. He left Paris as Charles Carrington, but he returned as Paul Ferdinando. It was this name by which he became known to a new set of modernist writers such as D. H. Lawrence, who was contemplating having the publisher issue a Paris edition of his banned novel *The Rainbow* (1915). "A nice and brigand-like name," Lawrence wrote in 1916, highlighting once again the social disadvantage of bearing the name Ferdinando, while also demonstrating the publishing links between expatriate pornography and international modernism.[60] Carrington's return to his original name could be interpreted as a sign of his

failed social transformation. In Bourdieu's terms, it may seem like a forced return to his original starting point after his inability to maintain his position as expatriate gentleman publisher in Paris. But Carrington's return to the name Ferdinando was not necessarily a sign of failure, for he used the name as another opportunity for reinvention.

When Carrington returned to Paris, he set up a new bookshop at 11, rue de Châteaudun just around the corner from his most famous address at 13, rue du Faubourg Montmartre. He continued to sell books from his shop, to which he gave a handful of names, the most colorful being "Ye Olde Paris Booke-Shoppe." He also continued publishing, though it is true that his publishing business diminished. He issued only a handful of new books in French, and some underground reprints of Victorian pornography, such as *Gynecocracy* (c. 1912) and *Venus School-Mistress* (1917).[61] His business correspondence also indicates that he was less prosperous upon his return to Paris. As he wrote sometime in 1913 to the Canadian bookseller Lawrence Forster on the possibility of publishing a bibliography of forbidden books in the manner of Henry Spencer Ashbee, "I am now practically done for and in fact have not enough money to bring out the second part of 'The Perfumed Garden' nor other translations from the Arabic, the French and the Latin that I have all ready to issue." These statements need to be treated with some caution, however, as he continued issuing catalogues and advertising. He might have been trying to solicit money from Forster.[62] He also continued to advertise in *The International Directory of Booksellers and Bibliophile's Manual,* repackaging himself as a rare and antiquarian book dealer who visited continental auctions in France, Belgium, Italy, and Germany, and specialized in illuminated manuscripts and sixteenth-century English books.[63]

Even though he returned to Paris as Ferdinando, he never quite relinquished the Carrington name. In fact he continued to work on the brand by introducing himself, now operating as Ferdinando, as Carrington's successor. In his catalogues he identified himself as "successeur" of the "Ancienne Librairie Charles Carrington" or "Ancienne Maison d'éditions Carrington." When the name Ferdinando was used without immediate reference to Carrington, Carrington editions were nonetheless featured alongside other high-end publishers: "Ouvrages Principaux: Anatole France; Isidore Liseux, Collection complete de publications; Brantôme; Editions de luxe de Blaizot, de Ferroud, de Pelletan, de Carrington

et autres." (Principal works: Anatole France; Isidore Liseux, complete collection of publications; Brantôme; luxury editions from Blaizot, Ferroud, Pelletan, Carrington and others.) The Ferdinando patronym was thus reinvented as Carrington's successor and legatee, even while his new book lists revealed the emergence of a new set of Paris-based publishers and booksellers specializing in pornography and Paris editions (such as Select Bibliothèque, Éditions Parisienne, Librairie du Temple, and Librairie Franco-Anglaise).[64]

He also continued to use the name Carrington, reserving it especially for his publishing activities. As Carrington, he corresponded with Bodley Head publisher John Lane over permissions to publish *Salome* with Aubrey Beardsley's illustrations.[65] Letters discovered at the Huntington Library reveal that Etienne Dinet, the European painter who converted to Islam, addressed a series of letters to Carrington from Bou-Saâda, Algeria from 1917 to 1921. He referred to him as Monsieur Carrington, his "chèr éditeur et ami," and seems to have supplied his books to hotels and bookstores in Algiers. Their correspondence pertained to a French translation and art book undertaken by Dinet called *La Vie de Mohammed* (1918). Although the Paris art publisher, Henry Piazza, published the book, it appears that the project was somehow undertaken in collaboration with Carrington who oversaw production. Carrington was also interested in publishing an English translation of Sliman and Dinet's illustrated book of Saharan legends *Le Printemps des coeurs,* also published by Piazza in 1902. From this correspondence, it is evident that Carrington not only continued working on publishing projects until his death, but was also still known professionally as Carrington. He even returned to his earliest passion for Arabic literature, making Paris his base for his Orientalism and Arabophilia.[66]

Carrington's shop assistant, Henri Michaux, painted a dreary picture of Carrington's final years. His children had left him, he fell out with his Flemish mistress who started her own rival bookshop from his pillaged stock, and he was suffering from the ravages of syphilis that touched his sight and mind.[67] Michaux had started working for Carrington after he had posted a sign on his shop window on rue de Châteaudun asking for somebody to read English to a blind man. He reportedly read to him every evening in his tiny apartment at 2, rue Bochart de Saron. Michaux's account of Carrington's final years read as kind of reckoning for his louche lifestyle, but a counter-narrative can be entertained from the same facts. His apartment on Bochart de Saron might have been tiny, but it was in

a prestigious Haussmannian building in a good area in the ninth district within ten minutes walking distance from his Châteaudun shop. He might have suffered from syphilis, but so did one-third of Paris's male population, according to Paul Delany.[68] British census records also show that his mother had suffered from blindness in middle age, possibly pointing to a genetic cause for his blindness.[69] The private sanatorium where he spent his final year also raises questions about Michaux's account of Carrington's final years. The Maison de Santé d'Ivry situated on 23, rue de la Mairie in Ivry-sur-Seine, just southeast of Paris, was a luxury establishment with private pavilions spread throughout the park. It was established in 1827 with the special purpose of treating foreigners. When the psychiatrist Achille Delmas took over direction of the sanatorium in 1912, he treated a number of artists and writers.[70] Among its most illustrious patients were the pioneer of thermodynamics, Nicolas Léonard Sadi Carnot, the Italian composer Gaetano Donizetti, the poet Roger Gilbert-Lecomte, and the painter Maurice Utrillo, who painted the chapel in 1921, the same year Carrington died. When he died on October 12, 1921, at the age of fifty-three, it was an elite establishment that treated some of the most distinguished expatriate artist and writers who had congregated in Paris.[71]

The discovery of Carrington's will gives a bit more concrete information about his material means and personal relationships in his final years. He left four thousand francs to be divided equally among his three children from his marriage, who were far-flung around the world: the eldest son in Britain, the youngest in Belgium, and the daughter as far off as Uruguay. To his mistress and their child, he left an insurance policy valued at fifteen thousand francs.[72] For many years, false information circulated about Carrington's final place of burial. According to Richard Manton, his ex-mistress gave him an elaborate Catholic burial at the famous Parisian cemetery Père Lachaise. But much (figurative) digging proved that this was not his final resting place. Carrington's assistant Michaux, who would seem to be a bit more reliable, wrote to Mendes that Carrington was buried at Ivry cemetery and his funeral was attended by his two shop assistants (Frank Groves and himself), his ex-mistress, and one of his brothers, Henry Ferdinando. His children were apparently not in attendance. Michaux's information proved faulty, however, as Carrington did not have a brother named Henry and his gravesite could not be found in any of the extramural cemeteries in Ivry-sur-Seine. If it is true that one of his brothers attended his



3.2. The gravestone of Paul Ferdinando (Charles Carrington) and his wife Jeanne Héloise Espargillière, Cimetière de Bagneux, France.

funeral, I suspect that it was George Samuel, who had served his time in a Dublin prison for committing fraud, but eventually rose to become a wealthy broker. Paul Harry (i.e., Charles) and George Samuel named their children after each other and might have collaborated on the pornographic confession *Suburban Souls* (1901). By the 1920s and 1930s George Samuel regularly traveled the world by ship in first class, perhaps in search of global investors. It is possible that he helped finance Carrington's private nursing and burial, caring for the brother with whom he had dared so much in his youth. My discovery of Carrington's well-appointed burial site and tombstone supports this theory. He was interred next to his wife in Cimetière de Bagneux, which is just outside of Paris and the same cemetery where Oscar Wilde was first buried before being transferred to Père Lachaise. There is an elaborate Christian tombstone inscribed in French with their names (Ferdinando) (fig. 3.2).[73] Though the tombstone does not memorialize the highs and lows of an extraordinary life and career led perpetually out of place, it does provide tangible evidence of how he ended his days somewhere very different from where he began them in London's East End. This extraordinary life shaped by Anglo-French cultural politics and the internationalization of pornography provides important social context for the publishing business he built up in books from abroad, his concept of Paris editions, and his defiant approach to culture.

CHAPTER 4

CHARLES CARRINGTON'S BOOKS FROM ABROAD, CIRCA 1895–1921

Charles Carrington's extraordinary life as an expatriate, unearthed in the last chapter, informed his great entrepreneurial venture as a Paris-based publisher-bookseller. Sometime around 1895, when he immigrated to Paris, he set up his unique publishing business that specialized in sex books from abroad, which he sometimes advertised as Paris editions. That very same year the British government began monitoring his activities, and that of the other lesser dealers who traded for him and piggybacked on his business. He published 85 percent of his list of roughly three hundred books between 1895 and 1907 when he was in Paris, but he also continued to publish during his exile in Brussels (1907–c. 1912) as well as after his return to Paris (c. 1912–1921).[1] These publications ranged widely from annotated editions of semischolarly studies on sexology, anthropology, and history, to translations of the ancient classics, Orientalist sex manuals, and French novels, to diverse genres of sadomasochistic and pornographic fiction. With this odd mix of sex, erudition, and exoticism, Carrington operated in an intercultural carrefour reliant

on translations and outlying production and distribution channels. Opinion on him, his business, and his books varied tremendously over his career:

> *The New York Times,* c. 1902: Mr. Charles Carrington, the well-known international publisher of 13 Faubourg Montmartre, Paris . . .
>
> *The Liverpool Mercury,* 1904: There is invariably an air of distinction about the publications of Mr. Carrington, very appreciable to the amateur of fine books, but very difficult precisely to describe.
>
> *The Lancet,* 1897: MR. CHARLES CARRINGTON is a person who describes himself as a "publisher of medical folk-lore and scientific works." We do not know in which category he would place a book which he has had the insolence to forward for us for review, bearing the innocent title of "Untrodden Fields of Anthropology." . . . The book, said to be written by a French army surgeon, is solely a record, and a very badly written record, of garbage from the sewers of human nature. It has no scientific importance whatever. It is of no interest to a student of human nature or of natural history. We shall be happy to supply the Paris police with Mr. Carrington's address and to hand over the book with its accompanying prospectus to Her Majesty's Postmaster-General, so that he may, if he will, take steps to stay the dissemination of such abominations by the agency of his department.
>
> Senator René Bérenger to the Procureur de la République, 1898: I have received from the National Vigilance Association of London, and hereby forward to you, a printed catalogue of obscene books whose licentiousness and crudeness surpass anything our society has ever seen. . . . It was sent by C. Carrington's publishing house which, as we have already informed you, has been sending licentious brochures to England.[2]

Carrington's "difficult to describe" books generated extreme reactions and affective tensions. His supporters found them distinctive, but his enemies thought them garbage. There were other continental booksellers and publishers who dealt in "dirty" English books during these years, but none rivaled Carrington in output, prominence, or notoriety. Carrington garnered this attention, in part, because he did not restrict his sex books to coterie markets but advertised them in all kinds of venues, from two-penny weeklies to highbrow medical journals. The controversial publishing careers of other independent British publisher-booksellers of the 1880s and 1890s, such as Henry Vizetelly, John Lane, and Leonard Smithers, have been comprehensively charted and studied, but Carrington's

has not despite his productivity and longevity.[3] The critical tendency has been to dismiss Carrington as an opportunist pornographer or to overlook him as an historical footnote. A lack of scholarly rigor around his biography and his publications underscores this bias, notwithstanding his own role in obscuring this history. Paul Douglas, however, has recently described him as "a perceptive and successful publisher, marketer and seller of books" and "forerunner of 20th-century publishers who rebelled against a prevailing censorship of any literature that had sexual content deemed to be offensive to the general public."[4] I too want to consider Carrington's controversial publishing business in Paris editions in this light, as the innovation of an eccentric and brilliant Anglo-Jew expatriate who, while looking to reinvent himself socially, built up a business in English sex books that assembled Britain's cultural and social expulsions and inassimilable peoples, identities, acts, and expressions. His importance has been attenuated because he was based abroad and focused on subjugated knowledge, but my contention is that the extranational configuration of his business is precisely what made him such a vital cultural agent and so deeply threatening to the British.

To think through Carrington's business in books from abroad, I turn to Edward Said's reminder to look to peripheral cultural practices as potentially powerful critiques of a European culture imperial in both attitude and structure. Said's work has emphasized how knowledge and culture were produced throughout the empire, from its "margins" and not just the center, and moreover circulated in provocative ways. Said explores one example of these cultural migrations from periphery to center in terms of "adversarial internationalization." This concept drives his reading of intellectuals, those from the peripheries, who "voyage in" from the "third world" to the metropolitan center to "struggle over the same area of experience, culture, history, and tradition."[5] Said's method of reading contrapuntally, in terms of two cultures, two settings, two experiences, can apply to other kinds of national splitting and fragmentation, including the "voyage out" to a metropolitan center undertaken by those on the "outs" in their own lands for reasons of class, sexuality, ethnicity, or politics. In examining how Carrington's publishing firm developed both in relation to and against British culture and society, I want to consider his "voyage out" as a practice of *expatriate internationalism.* Expatriation, as we have seen, vacillates between a renunciation and an exile, with often the possibility

of a return home. Carrington's business in books from abroad was founded on this ambiguity, as was the publishing haven that developed out of his trade in Paris editions. His business was resistant to and yet immersed in British culture, while also being increasingly influenced by Parisian metropolitan culture and the variety of expatriate and transnational encounters and exchanges it fostered.

A look at Carrington's publishing model, his invention and branding of Paris editions, his championing of the outcast Oscar Wilde, and his bibliographical musings offers some perspective on his practice of expatriate internationalism throughout his publishing career. Theoretical insights from the Frankfurt school on the instrumentality of translation and imported foreign words also suggest different ways for understanding how his books from abroad specifically challenged British sexual repression and censorship. Working with these insights alongside a study of Carrington's book formats and materials and his modes of production and distribution reveals some of the ways in which his "voyage out" was so threatening to the British and so influential to those who followed.

Carrington's Publishing Business

As there is no extant publishing archive for Carrington, it is impossible to provide an exact description of his expatriate business model. It has to be extrapolated from his books, catalogues, and advertisements, bits of business correspondence, and contemporary gossip. One way to try to get a sense of the character of his business is to follow his activities as a publisher over the course of one year. The year 1903, when he was at the height of his career and at his most creative, provides a good overall picture of how he dealt with authors, translators, printers, booksellers, distributors, and readers. These relations were of course variable depending on legal and economic conditions and specific opportunities, but we can begin to understand how Carrington moved his Paris editions through what Robert Darnton calls "the communications circuit" of the turn-of-the-century book trade and, more importantly, how he made himself central to that dynamic social process.[6]

A good place to begin, then, is to ask how Carrington made contact with writers and decided which books he would publish. The unpublished daily journal of the French writer who went by the name Jehan Rictus (1867–1933) offers a fascinating glimpse into

how some of these deals transpired.[7] Rictus first met Carrington on January 23, 1903, at a soirée held by Camille Prévost-Roqueplan; she was the wealthy daughter of French painter Camille Roqueplan and regularly gathered artists and writers at her salon. Rictus had nothing positive to say about the evening or his encounter with Carrington, whom he described as "un éditeur anglais . . . maintes fois poursuivi pour publications obscènes" (an English publisher . . . prosecuted many times for obscene publications). Of the evening, he wrote, "Pas une expression nouvelle ~ des clichés ~ *grand geste farouche* ~ tout l'arsenal fatigué des locutions Parnassiennes. Zut!"[8] (Not a single new expression ~ clichés ~ *grand dramatic gesture* ~ the entire tired arsenal of Parnassian phrases. Crikey!) Subsequent evenings at Madame Prévost's, however, saw Rictus taking more and more notice of the publisher and his line of work. He wrote about how one evening in February, Carrington regaled the guests with stories of his troubles with another French writer and translator, Laurent Tailhade. Apparently Rictus had jokingly advised Carrington during their prior encounter to pressure Tailhade into meeting a deadline by threatening to have his rival Rictus take over the job. Rictus's journal tells the full story:

> Saw there Herman the unavoidable, then a pianist from Saxony who speaks English and a stone-faced painter whose name I no longer remember. Mrs. Prévost-Roqueplan adores artists, as long as they don't cost her anything. Good dinner for once. Then we joked around. The publisher Carrington and his secretary arrived. Then Mrs. Lebèque, wife of the illustrator. Then Frédéric Boutet and his friend Gari, a Spanish painter. Carrington, an English publisher living in France, has pulled a very witty and decidedly Anglo-Saxon prank. The suggestion I'd made to him last time was a fanciful one, but it turns out he followed it.
>
> He'd given Laurent Tailhade an advance of three hundred francs for the preface of a book he's publishing. But Tailhade delivered a preface in which, among other indecencies, Christ was referred to as a "rotting corpse." It was therefore unusable since it would likely have caused problems for the publisher.
>
> Carrington returned the preface to Tailhade, asking him to change it. Tailhade promised, but Carrington did not receive a new preface. Time passed, and Carrington was impatient to publish his book but wanted to use the preface he'd already paid for. He remembered my fanciful suggestion, and sent Tailhade a *postcard* in which he insinuated, all

very innocently, that if he didn't receive the preface soon he would have it reworked by Jehan Rictus!

This had an immediate effect. Tailhade rushed to Carrington's office and promised to send his manuscript without further delay. There you have it! We all laughed and laughed, imagining the fury Tailhade must have felt when he got that cold shower.

I added, "If he still doesn't send you that preface, use my name again and tell him I'll change it all to slang."

You can imagine Laurent's face at hearing that.

And everyone burst out laughing again. Clearly, my name was enough to resuscitate Tailhade from the dead.

The young Saxon played Chopin. I recited "Le Revenant" and then hooked it out of there.[9]

Carrington entertained guests with his publishing stories; a young English pianist played Chopin; and Rictus recited "Le Revenant," his most popular poem from *Les Soliloques du pauvre* (1897).[10] Madame Prévost's dinners were evidently sites of complex social networking in which, judging from the list of attendees, Carrington and other foreigners were readily integrated. Salon culture was indeed part of the reason Paris became "the capital of the nineteenth century." Though Rictus continually described Carrington as an outsider and repeatedly attributed his jokes and his manners to his Englishness, his presence among the other artists was welcome as he continued to be invited. These evenings over *brandade de morue*, poetry, and charades were the perfect opportunity for Carrington to gain access to writers and translators and develop his Anglo-French business relationships. The fact that he was both a foreigner and a pornographer, rumored to have been many times prosecuted, was clearly not a point of exclusion among the latter-day Decadents and Bohemians who mixed at Madame Prévost's salon.

That these dinners led to literary deals is evident from Rictus's September journal entries later in the year. Rictus tried to pitch a project to Carrington and met with him on a couple of occasions to discuss the matter. There is a detailed description in his journal of one of their meetings at his apartment in Montmartre:

Morning passes, no Carrington. I can no longer work; I am nervous. Eh. So this is the punctuality of the English? Finally around half-past ten the bell rings. It's him. It's a warm day. He takes off his *jacket;* he sits down and we chat. I reveal all my accomplishments and my chances for success. At the end of the conversation, when I'm about to show him

an album of unfinished illustrations, the bell rings again. It's that idiot Jungbluth, whose timing is very bad time since Carrington immediately uses this unexpected arrival as a pretext for fleeing the scene. I asked him for two hundred francs per month for as long as I work on the manuscript. He gave me an appointment for Tuesday at 4 o'clock. We shall see.[11]

Carrington turned Rictus down, leaving him a letter explaining that he did not have the means and published only new material.[12] His letter suggests that Rictus was proposing a compendium of new and old poems, but Rictus's journal indicates that he may have been proposing much more racy material. On the same morning that he was waiting for Carrington's visit, he wrote down a story told to him the previous evening by a female friend of his who worked as a prostitute:

Not a single centime! Carrington at my place this morning. We shall see.

Landres tells me some horrible stories about Mr D~, a man that I'd found likable.

She recounts one or two things that say a lot about the funny man's sadistic appetites.

Apparently he tried to lift her skirts and give her a spanking the day that they'd gone to the brothel on a lark.

He pulled her into a chamber as the others were scattering throughout the establishment with various women, closed the door and ordered her to get on her knees and beg his forgiveness for having come there.

Landres was shocked, as he'd been pleasant and friendly to her the whole evening up to that point. There ensued much screaming on her part, and an attack of nerves. . . .

And that bastard (a former pupil of the Jesuits!) will become a minister one of these days.[13]

Brainstorming notes on prospective novels immediately follow this story, one based on Jeanne Landres's life called *La Grande Bringue* and another called *Les Flagellants.*[14] Knowing that Carrington specialized in flagellation literature, was Rictus hoping to get a commission to write something along these lines, perhaps even anonymously? Why else was he so nervous about their encounter and the Englishman's demands? He did not react to Carrington's rejection, though he must have been annoyed that Carrington published other writers present at Madame Prévosts's dinners, including the "poseur," Frédéric Boutet.[15]

Rictus's entries about his dealings with Carrington shed some light on how the publisher recruited his writers in Paris. Other deals, furtive and whispered, surely transpired with other authors, translators, and illustrators at other salons, boulevard cafés, and Montmartre cabarets. It is strange that Carrington refused to publish Rictus, who got some recognition for being the poor man's Baudelaire, but this rejection indicates that he would not publish just any writer. So, who would he publish? Carrington published at least sixteen books in 1903:

Jean de Villiot, *Femmes chatiées* (Paris: Librairie des bibliophiles parisiens, 1903).

Jean de Villiot, *Whipped Women* (Paris: Privately Issued for Bibliophiles and Collectors only, 1903).

Like Nero. Romance of a Modern Rival of the Roman Empire, trans. from French (Paris: Society of British Bibliophiles, 1903).

Ernest Feydeau, *Orange Blossoms. The Story of a Beautiful Marchioness under the Second Empire,* trans. from French (Paris: Privately Printed, 1903)

The Callipyges (London: Privately Printed for Private Subscribers Only, 1903).

Antonio Gallonio, *Tortures and Torments of the Christian Martyrs,* trans. from Latin by A. R. Allinson (London and Paris: Printed for the Subscribers, 1903).

Anatole France, *The Well of Santa Clara,* trans. from French by A. R. Allinson (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1903).

Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, *Au delà des portes,* trans. from English by Charles Grolleau (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1903).

Frédéric Boutet, *Contes dans la nuit* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1903).

Home Discipline. A Story of Flagellation (London: For Private Subscribers and Bibliophilists, 1903).

Plain Tales of the Birch (London: The Caxton Press, 1903).

Octave Mirbeau, *The Diary of a Lady's Maid,* trans. from French (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1903).

Boleslas Prus, *Le Pharaon. Roman historique de l'ancienne Egypte,* trans. from Polish by C. Humiecka (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1903).

Charles François, *Journal du Capitaine François,* ed. Charles Grolleau (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1903–04).

Maud Cameron and Her Guardian, a Modern Narrative (London: Privately Printed for Subscribers only, Golden Birch House Rod Lane E.C., 1903).

Suzanne Giroux, *Journal d'une enfant vicieuse par Madame de Morency;* préface Hugues Rebell (Paris: Isidore Liseux et ses amis, 1903).

Roughly half were in English and the others were in French, a split that shows how his business in Paris editions was also imbricated with the French book trade. Carrington's 1903 list of publications traversed the literary field, offering a little bit of everything—history, biography, memoir, flagellation; and some were published openly under his name and some clandestinely under facetious imprints.[16] Of his mixed lists, Douglas suggests, "Perhaps one should imagine Hugh Hefner publishing not only *Playboy,* but the *American Journal of Anthropology* and the novels of John Updike."[17] Carrington possibly published other clandestine titles that year, but they are impossible to attribute with any certainty. His list was largely made up of translations, a few reprints, and only three original publications. The three original works were on flagellation: *Home Discipline, Plain Tales of the Birch,* and Jean de Villiot's French and English versions of *Femmes chatiées / Whipped Women.* As his list shows, the core of his business was based on translations of previously published works. It was a publishing model that allowed him to keep down costs, especially since international copyright was not enforced, and he rarely bothered to purchase translation rights.[18] It was also a publishing model that allowed him to spigot both French and English markets, spreading sales and distribution through translation.

Carrington's focus on translation also gave him considerable creative and economic control over his books. He was instrumental in hiring multilingual translators and essayists, bringing them together on various projects that he envisioned and then financed. He was even known to commission authors to pen flagellation literature under the composite names Jean de Villiot and Jacques Desroix. He too may have contributed material under these pseudonyms, building his list with his own ghost writing much like the expatriate publisher Jack Kahane did twenty years later. One of the authors Carrington supposedly approached to write under the Villiot pseudonym was the arthritic and syphilitic Hugues Rebell (né Georges

Grassal). Rebell's status as an author was damaged irreparably as a result, according to his biographer Thierry Rodange: "En acceptant cette collaboration avec Carrington, il est tombé bien bas et s'est surtout condamné à n'être plus un veritable écrivain." (By accepting this collaboration with Carrington, he fell very low and, above all, condemned himself to never again be a real writer.) The publisher also reportedly scavenged Rebell's desk for material immediately after his agonizing death.[19]

The type of author-publisher relationship that a recognized author such as Rictus sought in 1903 might have been exactly the kind Carrington wished to avoid. He was possibly less invested in discovering talent than tapping into what was already out there and what he knew could sell. As a consequence he had a great deal of authority over how his books moved their way through the Anglo-French communications circuit and networks of socialization. "Les éditeurs, dans ce monde renversé, ne sont plus de simples commerçants. Ils ont une esthétique, une politique, une philosophie," Rebell wrote presciently to a friend.[20] (Publishers, in this upside-down world, are no longer simple merchants. They have their own aesthetics, politics and philosophies.) Carrington's investment in translation might have been a tactic to keep down costs and gain control over the communications circuit, but it was also a business model that highlighted his internationalism. Translation, in the words of Brent Hayes Edwards, is the "turbine" of internationalism.[21]

Carrington's relationship with printers also expressed his internationalism. His 1903 book list shows that the printing of his books was no straightforward affair. The colophon is missing from some of these books, but those that bear a printer's stamp were printed by a variety of firms based in France, Holland, and even Britain. Only one, Clarke and Bishop, was based in Paris. Of all the printers he used that year, the two most productive relationships were with Thieme in Nymwegen, Holland (present-day spelling Nijmegan), and Veuve Félix Guy in Alençon. Carrington started working with the Dutch printing firm when he first began publishing, possibly hearing about him through other Decadent publishers like Leonard Smithers.[22] His association with the French printer began in 1903, and led to some of his most avant-garde looking books. During his career, he worked with over thirty different printers who were scattered all over France, Holland, Belgium, and Britain.[23] Working with printers who were out of the country or in the provinces meant a proliferation of correspondence on

innumerable technical matters related to paper, format, design, and cost. The publisher-bookseller Giuseppe Orioli made this point a few decades later with reference to publishing English books from Florence: there was the "difficulty of correspondence all over the world, of printers not knowing English, proofreading that was thus necessitated, importing materials from abroad, some difficulties with Home Office interventions."[24]

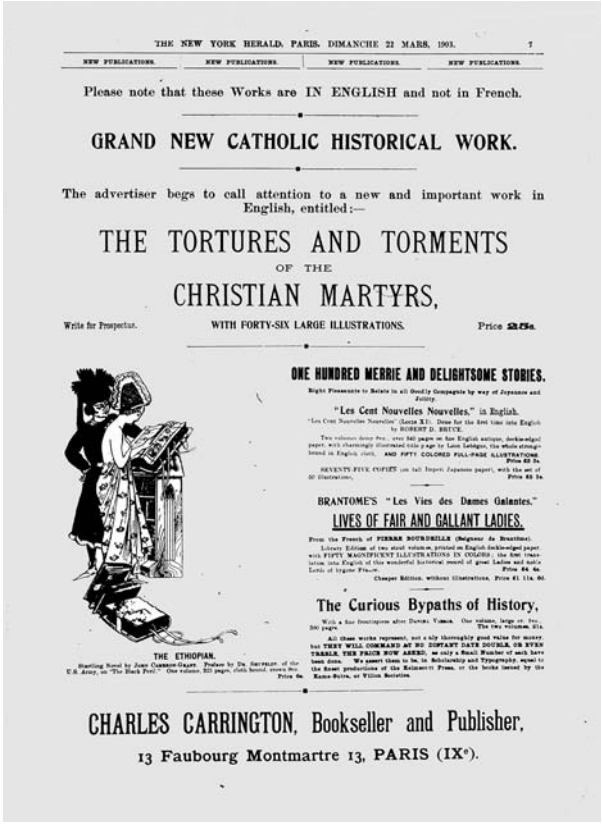
Carrington's sales catalogues show that he had considerable knowledge about all aspects of book production and likely did not leave these decisions to the printers. On top of this correspondence, he would have had another set of arrangements and negotiations with the specialist printers who handled the copperplate etchings accompanying many of his books. The employees that Carrington had working away in the front room of his premises, first noted by the French police during an inspection, were there to manage this complex correspondence, as well as other aspects of the business.[25] How Carrington found clerks who were not only literate, but also functionally bilingual and even multilingual, was yet another complication in his cross-border operation. A reference letter he wrote for his nephew James Ashley shows that he sometimes had to rely on his own family members.[26]

In addition to the challenges of bringing these books to print from a distance, Carrington also had to manage their shipment across long distances. His print runs were typically limited to between two hundred and five hundred copies, but the books would still have had to been transported in large shipments by train. Such a complicated business structure raises more questions than answers. Did Carrington send shipping agents and use middlemen? Did he have the entire shipment sent back to Paris, or did he arrange for the printers to mail copies to private customers and other booksellers who carried his books? The interception of Carrington's correspondence through Home Office warrants suggests that he usually received and stocked the shipments at his address at 13, rue du Faubourg Montmartre, from where he then sent books to paying customers by international post. Detailed instructions in his catalogues about shipping costs and remittances seem to confirm this method.[27] But there are also other stories of Carrington and his agents smuggling books into Britain, such as the hapless Robert Mercier and Van Dyck who were caught posting Carrington's books from British coastal cities.[28]

Why did he make business so difficult for himself? Was it to

cut down on the costs of a Parisian printer? Was it to diversify his activities to minimize the scrutiny of the authorities? Or, was it yet another effect of his expatriation, a predisposition to think and relate beyond the local and across borders? Having books printed in the provinces or outside the country was not unusual for the foreign book trade or clandestine publication, but Carrington had much more freedom in France to produce his books closer to home. There was also no shortage of printers in Paris, as the Didot-Bottin professional directories show. The absence of publishing records makes the production and distribution phases of Carrington's business the most obscure of his operation, but common sense shows the logistical challenges of producing his books from a distance and then getting them distributed to his dispersed customers. "Emigration, the damaged life, disfigured my books, which had accompanied me, or, if you like, been dragged, to London, New York, Los Angeles, and then back to Germany, beyond measure," writes Theodor Adorno in his essay "Bibliographical Musings."[29] Was this not the same fate of Carrington's books, which were shipped and smuggled back and forth across Europe and sometimes even farther? To what extent did the booklegging through an outlying communications circuit cling to these books as reminders that they came from abroad and were produced by an expatriate publisher who thrived in linguistic and cultural interstices?

The bookseller, much like the author, was a minor player in Carrington's business. He consolidated the role of publisher-bookseller (*libraire-éditeur*) as did other small, independent publishers of the period. But how did he reach his readers? His bookshop-apartment did not attract the custom of the curious passerby or idle tourist: it was off the busy Grands Boulevards, but tucked away in a courtyard up three flights of stairs. As a consequence, he regularly advertised in the postal directories and the *International Trade Directory for Booksellers and Bibliophiles.*[30] He also drummed up business at the start of his career by advertising extensively, and often indiscriminately, in periodicals that traversed the social spectrum. He placed ads in the *French and English Gazette* and the *New York Herald,* for example, to attract an international readership (fig. 4.1).[31] The full-page ad in the *New York Herald,* placed just a year before Carrington's encounter with Rictus, highlights his trade in the English sex book and brings the pornographer out of the closet. His Englishman's name and his Faubourg Montmartre address are both key marketing points. He was precocious in his use of print



THE NEW YORK HERALD, PARIS, DIMANCHE 22 MARS, 1903. 7

NEW PUBLICATIONS. NEW PUBLICATIONS. NEW PUBLICATIONS. NEW PUBLICATIONS.

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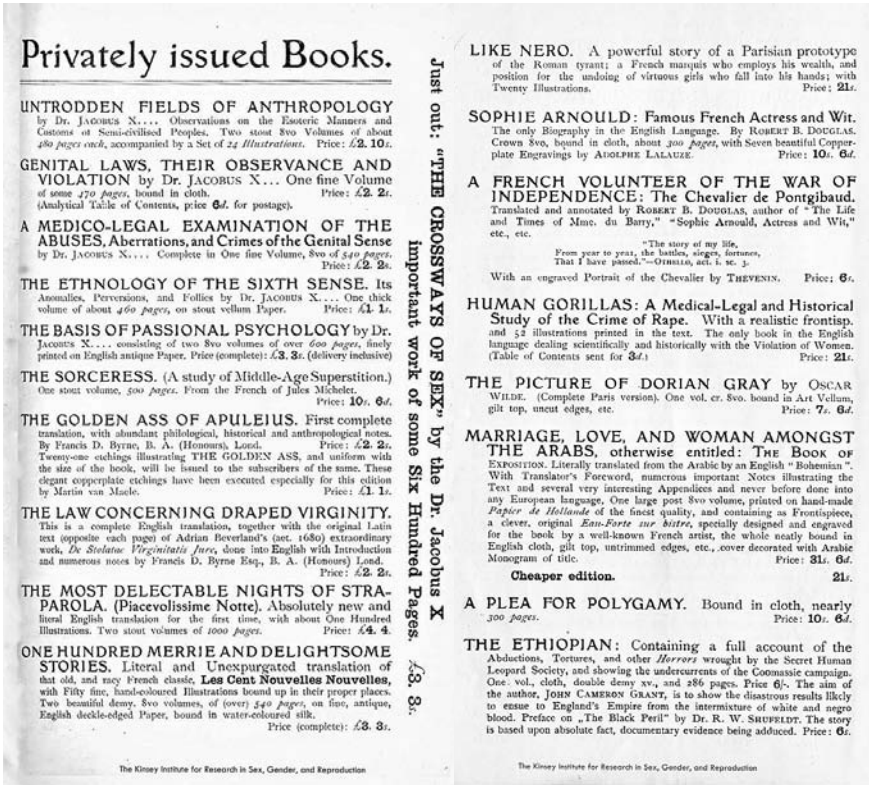
4.1. Charles Carrington advertisement, *New York Herald* (Paris), March 22, 1903.

advertising, much like the British publisher John Lane,[32] but he brought a visibility to a private trade that usually stayed in the shadows. His advertising in French newspapers was equally reckless and indiscriminate, ranging from the trade magazine *La Bibliographie de la France* to the oft-prosecuted weekly *Le Gil Blas illustré*.[33] He capitalized on the prurience that drove mass media and sought a readership outside closed social networks and private subscriptions. That he took risks in so doing is evident, as the *New York Herald* ad caught the attention of the British Home Office and triggered another round of diplomatic discussions regarding Carrington's expulsion from France.[34]

By 1903, when Carrington was under increasing pressure by both British and French governments, he discontinued advertising in periodicals for the most part and instead relied on catalogues as well as book lists printed on the end papers and at the back of

the book wrappers.[35] He used postal directories to draw up mailing lists for his catalogues, a practice he learned from his days as a bucket-runner. Many of these catalogues have survived, showing how he tailored them to his different publics. He usually separated his French from his English lists and quoted prices in pounds or francs as appropriate, but he also opened up his client base and customized his internationalism by inviting correspondence in "English, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Russian or Arabic."[36] His catalogue of "Privately Issued Books," published around 1904, includes a number of the English titles he released in 1903 (figs. 4.2 and 4.3).[37] It is more circumspect than his other catalogues, as his name appears nowhere. It also highlights the clandestine nature of the books, by turning to the discourse of privacy, though in fact most of these titles were openly published. His catalogue played on the distinction between public and private to titillate readers with the promise of indecency and exclusivity and to justify the high costs. The standard price range of these books was between one to two guineas, which was expensive. His French books were also expensive, typically ranging between twenty and thirty francs. Lane's Keynote series books from the 1890s, by comparison, were priced at three and half shillings.[38] Carrington's books were known to be expensive and luxurious, though he did publish less expensive books possibly for quicker turnaround. His advertising tactics, however, exploited the tools of global mass culture, such as the post and the press, and built up the idea of the expatriate publisher, bibliopolist, and book to such an extent that his business in Paris editions was perceived as a cultural threat for Britain, as well as other nations.

Tracking how Carrington moved his books through the communications circuit in 1903 gives us a sense of how profoundly his business was driven by his larger-than-life, out-of-bounds personality. Pierre Bourdieu's theory about the hierarchical struggle for position within cultural production, however, is useful for understanding the social relations and cultural purposes behind Carrington's ambitions. According to Bourdieu, authors struggle for position within a literary field that is doubly polarized—between profit and autonomy and between prestige and triviality. Certain dispositions inform these struggles for position within the cultural field, but these dispositions are shaped and limited by the discourses and networks of the author's social and economic environment, "linking habit with inhabitance." Peter McDonald has



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4.2 and 4.3. Pages from Charles Carrington's catalogue of "Privately Issued Books" (c. 1904), *Bibliotheca Carringtoniensis: Being a Collection of the Descriptive Title Pages of Certain Books Published by Charles Carrington of Paris.* Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction.

applied Bourdieu's model of the literary field to other actors as well, namely late nineteenth-century British publishers.[39] Because he was based in Paris, Carrington does not figure into his study, but his struggle for position in the literary field deserves attention. To examine that struggle we might ask: What kind of publisher did this expatriate Briton aspire to be, operating as he was at the intersection of British and French literary cultures?

This is not an easy question to answer, whether looking at 1903 or any other point in his career. He operated within both French and English literary markets; he moved between open and clandestine publication; he published flagellation pornography alongside literary classics; and he published luxurious editions as well as quick-sale duodecimos. The types of books he published, his

modes of distribution, and his forms of advertising were remarkably heterogeneous. Consider the difference between two of the books he published in 1903: Jean de Villiot's *Whipped Women* and Anatole France's *The Well of Santa Clara.* The first was formulaic short fiction written on commission; the latter was a collection of short fiction written by a future member of the Academie française and Nobel Prize winner. A sample passage from *Whipped Women* reveals that it is not a great work of literature, but rather typical of the genre of flagellation pornography:

> Sidonie was a cook and possessed one of the most remarkable backsides in the world. She belonged to the race of wide-bottomed females, and truly had posteriors as big as those of three ordinary women rolled into one. When she stood erect she did not appear too stout, on account of her tall stature. Her eyes sparkled with malice and lust beneath her bushy brows, and there was something bold, self-willed, and energetical in her bearing. Her palpitating nostrils, thick red lips, and free gestures did not announce any pronounced leaning toward chastity.[40]

As befitted its subject matter, *Whipped Women* was distributed semiclandestinely;[41] *The Well of Santa Clara,* meanwhile, was openly published and widely advertised for years to come. Five years after it first appeared, Carrington was still placing ads for it in the highbrow British periodical the *Academy.*[42] An examination of his publications in 1903, and throughout his career, reveals the difficulty in determining how Carrington tried to position himself as a publisher. Did he want to be taken seriously as a man of letters? Was he driven by profit or prestige, or both? How did his position evolve over time?

Carrington occasionally referenced other publishers, which gives some indication of his role models. Sir Richard Burton (1821–1890) and his self-published Kama Shastra Society of Benares books from the 1880s inspired Carrington's earliest publications. The British diplomat and explorer really had his editions of *The Thousand Nights and a Night* (1885–86), *The Kama Sutra* (1883), and other Orientalist erotology printed in London.[43] Like Burton, Carrington brought the East to the metropole and published lubric translations from the Arabic and Persian, rendering some into French and others into English. Some of the titles translated into English included *Marriage-Love and Woman,* or *The Book of Exposition* (1896), *Old Man Young Again* (1898), *The Secrets of Women* (1899), and *The Scented*

Garden / The Perfumed Garden (1907).[44] Ads for these works often cited Burton's name and conjured his wrangling with the British periodical press over the "pornography" of his translation of the *Arabian Nights* and his wife's infamous decision to burn his manuscript translation of *The Scented Garden* after his death.[45] The "English Bohemian" who translated *Old Man Young Again* also added a dedication to Burton: "to the Memory of the late Sir Richard Burton, whose work suggested, and whose labours aided me in my task of making this English version of a work."[46] As we have seen, it is a strong possibility that Carrington was the "Bohemian" who translated this work as well as the others. A prospectus for *The Scented Garden,* which was ultimately published as *The Perfumed Garden,* not only identified him as the translator, but also suggested that he followed Burton's footsteps in his quest for the manuscript and production of a definitive "Paris and Benares" edition: "Chas. Carrington has long felt it his duty not to allow this extraordinary work to perish. He has searched the Bazaars of many Eastern lands, as well as in the great libraries of all the chief European Capitals, to procure complete and unabridged Arabic manuscripts, and has now for a considerable time past been working upon a translation of the same."[47]

Carrington's references to Burton suggest that he modeled himself after the cosmopolitan, yet swashbuckling Burton who traversed intellectual, linguistic, and cultural fields intrepidly. He was surely pleased when the author Hector France praised his "wide learning" in his postscript to Carrington's English edition of his novel *Chastisement of Mansour* (1898): "The Book fell by chance into the hands of Mr. Charles Carrington, who was pleased with the style. . . . The Publisher in question is far from being an ordinary man; he is a scholar and a distinguished Orientalist, one who possesses an intimate acquaintance not only with the languages of Asia but with those of Europe as well."[48] Even Rictus's journal alluded to Carrington's Burtonian aspirations, but in much more comedic fashion, as he found Carrington sleeping over his Arabic lessons: "Eté chez Carrington. Trouvé Grolleau. Carrington prenait soi disant sa leçon d'Arabe. En réalité il faisait la sieste."[49] (Was at Carrington's. Found Grolleau. Carrington was supposedly having his Arabic lesson. In reality, he was taking a nap.)

Another publisher whom Carrington cited regularly along with Burton was Isidore Liseux (1836–1894). He was an ex-Jesuit priest who became a *libraire-éditeur* in Paris specializing in rare and

clandestinely published books. Reputed to have known English well,[50] he published about ten books in English, including John Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (1890) and an English translation of the Marquis de Sade's *Justine* called *Opus Sadicum* (1889). He also published French translations of Sanskrit and Arabic texts, including a Paris edition of *The Perfumed Garden,* called *Le Jardin parfumé* (1886) that predated Burton's destroyed translation, as well as other books in his Kama Shastra Society translations.[51] Carrington's early book catalogues as well as the "books wanted" ads he placed in the *Publishers' Circular* show that he kept Liseux and Burton titles in stock.[52] His first publication, *Marriage-Love and Woman,* was advertised as both a supplement to Burton's *Arabian Nights* and the "most remarkable work of the kind in English brought out in France since the days of Isidore Liseux."[53]

Carrington additionally issued English translations of a number of Liseux's French titles, including his *Untrodden Fields of Anthropology* (1896), which he said was criticized by those who found it "improper" from "the mere fact that the book was issued from Paris."[54] He made a similar comment about Liseux's edition of *Fanny Hill,* noting how it was ironic "that a Frenchman published in our time the text in extensor of this masterpiece of English literature, for it must not be forgotten that the reprints made in London since those of the XVIIIth century are all more or else hacked about."[55] It is not known if Carrington ever met Liseux, who died shortly before he began publishing. As the bibliographers of *L'Enfer de la Bibliothèque nationale* write, "l'éditeur Liseux, qui publia de si beaux livres, mourut dans la misère, le 11 Janvier 1894, à l'age de 58 ans"[56] (the publisher Liseux, who had published such handsome books, died in poverty on January 11, 1894, age 58). But Carrington certainly took cues from "the poor-martyred publisher" whom he called the "ex-priest" of "pornographic works."[57] It was from him that he got the idea to publish dirty English books from Paris.

Carrington's other role models were the fin de siècle publishers of British Decadence. This was a literary movement that Arthur Symons described as "a new and beautiful and interesting disease," notable for its "intense self-consciousness, a restless curiosity in research, an over-subtilizing refinement upon refinement, a spiritual and moral perversity."[58] The figure of Decadence as a disease evocatively suggests the way the movement crossed national borders, literary fields, and historical periods in its quest for cultural difference, new sensation, and painful experience. The influence of

Decadent-movement publishers such as like John Lane or Leonard Smithers is obvious from Carrington's choice of publications, particularly his Paris editions of works by Decadent icons Oscar Wilde and Aubrey Beardsley. Gershon Legman was the first of a number of critics to compare Carrington to Smithers, the gentleman publisher who took up Lane's cast-off writers after they were tainted by Wilde's 1895 trial for "gross indecency." According to Legman, "Carrington never missed an opportunity of needling Smithers, who was taking far greater risks, on English soil, and publishing what were actually far more important, if quite unpretentious little books."[59] That they knew each other is certain, as it was Smithers who introduced Wilde to Carrington in Paris. When Carrington first started his business he also used some of the same printers and published some of the same authors as Smithers.[60] Whether Carrington and Smithers were rivals or collaborators, however, is uncertain and undocumented.

It is more productive to think about how Carrington positioned himself in the succession of Decadent publishers: Lane discovered the British Decadents, Smithers rescued them, and Carrington resurrected them. He fed off the literary dregs of the 1890s, reviving Symons's idea of an intercontinental Decadence by publishing, pirating, and translating works by Oscar Wilde, Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly, Maurice Maeterlinck, and Charles Baudelaire from his outpost in Paris.[61] As Carrington penetrated Parisian literary microcosms, Rictus's journal shows us, he also increasingly worked and socialized with a motley crew of lesser ex-Parnassians, Symbolists, and Decadents—Rictus, Octave Mirbeau, Laurent Tailhade, Frédéric Boutet, and Paul Adam, among others. Carrington positioned himself as the publisher who would continue to spread the Decadent disease by means of his books from abroad. His books were wandering germs ready to assail Anglo-French literary culture, an image he himself once evoked when he wrote, "Books have the vitality of the most lively, healthy germs."[62]

What about the many other positions that Carrington occupied in his role as publisher, however temporary? He struck a number of different poses over his career: "English Bohemian," "Publisher of Medical, Folk-Lore and Historical Works," "Libraire-Editeur." He followed Henry Vizetelly's popular translations of French literature; and he also presented himself as a bibliophile and high-end publisher of luxury editions. He referenced William Morris's rarefied neo-medieval Kelmscott Press, and he aligned himself with the



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Mr. CHAS. CARRINGTON'S LIST of PUBLICATIONS

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4.4. Charles Carrington advertisement, *Society*, January 20, 1900.

Paris publishers L. Conquet and A. Ferroud, known for their *éditions de luxe*.[63] Robert B. Douglas, who wrote a biography published by Carrington, vaunted his publisher as a "rising" *libraire-éditeur* in Paris who "will undoubtedly prove no mean rival to the 'Conquets' and 'Ferrouds' who have given so many beautiful works to the world of book-amateurs and bibliophiles." Carrington possibly even fed him the line, as Charles Grolleau repeated it in his preface to the French translation of Douglas's biography.[64]

Carrington also assumed contradictory positions in overlapping literary fields, sometimes even at the same time, as in the ad he placed in the short-lived penny weekly published out of London called *Society*. In one half-page ad, a list of his publications priced as high as two guineas appears on the same page as notices from Mme.

Rachelle, Madame Viola, and Miss Thornton offering "discipline" and other treatments (fig. 4.4).[65] The bibliophile and pornographer seem to be at cross-purposes in this ad. The ad also brings to mind the other obscure dealers and publishers in the pornographic book trade who influenced Carrington. Richard Gennert, Gray-Arthur Tindall, Edward Avery, August Brancart, Charles Hirsch, the mysterious Duringe, and Elias Gaucher, most of who were on the radar of British government, all helped shape how Carrington positioned himself as a pornographer. He denied their influence, and even denounced their shoddy reprints as "hole-and-corner Grub Street hurried version[s]."[66] But even as he insisted on his autonomy from these other publishers and booksellers, he associated himself with them in negative relationship:

> I have absolutely no connection with any other firm either in Paris, London, or elsewhere. In view of the fact that a number of worthless, mushroom firms pretending to be booksellers and yet knowing next to nothing of books or the book-trade, are constantly cropping up right and left, and then disappearing as quickly as they came, Correspondents are advised not to send their money without first making careful enquiries. CHARLES CARRINGTON's BOOK-STORE has been established for nearly Twenty years, and for the last twelve years has been at the same address, No. 13, Faubourg Montmartre, Paris.[67]

My point is that Carrington occupied multiple intercultural positions as a publisher, posturing as Orientalist, bibliophile, Decadent, and pornographer in overlapping English and French literary fields. It is impossible to label him as a specific kind of publisher whose career can be rationalized according to a hierarchy of cultural positions relative to money, prestige, or fame, or to a nation-specific set of dispositions shaping and limiting his choices.

In fact the number of different poses Carrington struck in 1903, and throughout his career, explains his interest as a publisher. He was not fixed in one position, but rather traversed literary fields in provocative and adversarial ways. The success of literary speculations, Bourdieu argues, depends on social and geographical origin. "A faulty sense of investment," he writes, "is linked to social distance."[68] But this distance was both Carrington's strength and Achilles heel. As an expatriate publisher who specialized in translations, he was to some extent exempt from the social codes that conscripted other writers and publishers. He could attend Madame



4.5. Title-page vignette for *Flagellation in France* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1898). Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction.

Prévost's dinner parties as an Englishman rather than a Bethnal Green Anglo-Jew; and he could publish an English translation of one of Anatole France's books without needing to have gone to a *grand école.* His expatriation came at a cost, as we saw in the last chapter, but it also gave him special mobility in and perspective on literature as he built his niche business in books from abroad. His speculations on sex, exoticism, translation, and luxury in the book trade, informed by his expatriate internationalism, ultimately suggested an adversarial philosophy of culture. He flattened out the aesthetic, national, and moral differences that segmented British and French literary fields, suggesting the equivalence and exchangeability of pornography and literature, of "garbage" and beaux arts, of morality and immorality, of *Whipped Women* and *The Well of Santa Clara.* The oversized vignette of the maniacal satyr's head with the French motto "riez et le monde rit avec vous" (laugh, and the world laughs with you) that appears on Carrington's earliest publications gives an otherworldly visage to the larger-than-life publisher who has remained faceless, and serves as an apt symbol for his Paris firm's disruptive cultural potential (fig. 4.5).[69]

"The Paris Edition"

The books at the center of Carrington's publishing business merit closer attention, particularly the expatriated English books that were the result of British repressive cultural policies and the internationalization of pornography. Carrington was not the first publisher to come up with the idea of publishing English books from the continent. The Galignani family, who opened the first English bookstore in Paris in 1801, published continental editions of contemporary British literature from Byron to Dickens. Baron Bernhard Tauchnitz of Leipzig did the same on an even larger scale.[70] As for more restricted material, it was Liseux who first had the idea to publish English pornography from Paris, and priced these books anywhere between twenty to two hundred francs.[71] It was Carrington, however, who first branded the English sex book "the Paris edition"—or alternatively "the Paris version" (see fig. 4.3). He was the person who turned his "privately printed English books issued in Paris" into a publishing phenomenon that seduced many and also repelled many others.[72] Why did his books have such a fecund and dangerous quality? Why did they provoke one angry Briton to write, "Had not this man Carrington dated his circular from Paris, . . . I would have gone to his place and horsewhipped him myself."[73] It was not simply the sexual content that elicited such reactions, as that was nothing new. There seems to have been something different about his Paris editions that precluded indifference. Was it the fact that they were books from abroad?

Writings from the Frankfurt school of critics (particularly Walter Benjamin's essay "The Task of the Translator" and Theodor Adorno's two essays, "Words from Abroad" and "On the Use of Foreign Words"), reflect on different kinds of estranging practices that we can link to Carrington's Paris editions and relate to the affective tensions surrounding his books. Benjamin concentrates on the way translation is transformative: it alters its own language along with the foreign language it translates, watching over "the maturing process of the original language and the birth pangs of its own." Translation, in other words, is a mode of linguistic transformation that is both exciting and volatile in its cultural and social contexts.[74] Benjamin concentrates on the transformative potential of translation, whereas Adorno concentrates on the inassimilability of the imported foreign word into a host language. He argues that the strategic use of foreign words can destabilize established

communication and socialization networks because they stand out as different. Their force lay in their exogamy from language and in their failure to integrate and unify. He even borrows an image from Benjamin, of "the author inserting the silver rib of the foreign words into the body of language," to suggest the inorganic and intransigent quality of the foreign word.[75] Together, Benjamin and Adorno suggest ways of thinking about the different kinds of estranging effects of Carrington's books. They stood out as different not simply because they were sex books, but also because they were sex books that came from abroad in literal translations, variant editions, and foreign materials. Like words from abroad, Carrington's books from abroad were "not completely trapped within the net of socialization and communication" and thus did not repeat the same kinds of cultural messages or reproduce the same forms of historical and social relations.[76] Perhaps even more threatening, his Paris editions were not completely foreign: for they were cultural expulsions that came back unlawfully in extraterrestrial forms, working their way illicitly and adversarially through British, and anglophone, literary culture and society. At the most basic level, Carrington's Paris editions destabilized the idea of the English book.

Carrington created at least four different lines of Paris editions that had the potential to disrupt the essence of the English book. First there were his English-French book pairs: such as *Sophie Arnould*/*Sophie Arnould* (1898), *The Memoirs of Dolly Morton* (1899)/*En Virginie* (1901), and *Whipped Women* (1903)/*Femmes chatiées* (1903).[77] These books were all original English publications with a French double. The two versions of *Sophie Arnould,* a biography on an eighteenth-century actress, were published simultaneously, but the English version made a British reviewer comment that such depictions of the "seamy side of Paris life" were "rarely presented in English dress."[78] The two versions of *Dolly Morton,* a novel set during the American Civil War and advertised as "the most wonderful Romance of Flagellation in existence," differed in tone and audacity, as the French version was expurgated.[79] Finally, the two versions of *Whipped Women* were bibliographically similar in format and design, but were produced amidst tension between publisher and author over their translation. Hugues Rebell wrote the first version of the book in French, but after Carrington decided to publish an English translation, Rebell apparently asked that it not be published in French. Against his wishes, Carrington published a French version, but under the Villiot pseudonym.[80] What made Carrington's

bilateral model of publishing book pairs potentially unsettling was its complete disregard for the original. Which book was original, and which was foreign? Each of these book pairs created different degrees of tension around the wager of translation—what was lost, what was gained, what was different, what was original, and what was copy?

Carrington's second line of Paris editions were English translations of French and foreign literature. This was his most productive line of Paris editions. Many of them were the first "complete and literal" translations of their kind. They were "Englished," as Carrington put it, a neologism that highlights Benjamin's idea of the transformative potential of translation, yet also, in its awkwardness, underscores Adorno's idea of the inassimilable foreign element. This line of Paris editions included translations of Arabic sex manuals as well as Latin and French classics. It also included translations of medico-legal history and sexual pathology, especially by French practitioners Dr. Cabanès and Dr. Jacobus.[81] Less visible, but also of note, were his clandestine translations of French pornography that were difficult to trace back to him, such as Restif de la Bretonne's *The Double Life of Cuthbert Cockerton* (c. 1899–1900) and *Memoirs of a Russian Princess* (c. 1900).[82] By far the riskiest translations in this line of Paris editions, however, were his open publications of contemporary French novels. The awful fate of London publisher-bookseller Henry Vizetelly, who languished in a British prison for selling English translations of Emile Zola's novels in the late 1880s, was still fresh in the book trade's memory. The pornography of translation was still an unresolved issue culturally and legally in Britain, and Carrington exploited the tensions around translations of French novels in particular by promoting his books as "complete" or "literal" translations—which was code for unexpurgated. To deem the same books that circulated freely in Britain in their original French as obscene when translated in English stretches common sense, but the logic was that the original French books had a limited readership, while English translations were far more accessible. While raising the specter of Vizetelly "sentenced to eighteen months hard labour" for having sold "books sold on the Parisian Boulevards for half-a-crown,"[83] Carrington dared to publish English translations of the most audacious French fiction of the day—though at a steeper price. He appears to have capitalized on the mix of moral, linguistic, and national impurities stirred up by translation.

To this end, though he was following the lead of Vizetelly and

later Smithers in London, he struck out on his own by discovering a new generation of French authors to translate. Most importantly, these authors were notable for their exoticist tendencies and foreign settings, which further added to the strange, otherworldly quality of his Paris editions. One of the contemporary French authors Carrington published in translation was Hector France. He was known for his "virile and realistic" Orientalist fiction and was branded the Arab Don Juan and the "French 'Rudyard Kipling' done into English."[84] British reviews of France's *The Chastisement of Mansour* (1898) expressed distaste over the translation in veiled xenophobic terms. "Now, we disclaim any idea of viewing M. France's work 'like old maids over their tea,'" wrote a critic for the *Glasgow Herald*, "but in his lashing of sin the author does not show much reticence, if any, and his drastic method of curing the disease of 'hypocrites and prudes' is a little strong for English taste."[85] Carrington also published books by Anatole France (who is not to be confused with Hector France),[86] including the first English translation of *Thaïs* (1901), a historical romance about a fourth-century Egyptian prostitute, as well as the short-story collection *The Well of Santa Clara* (1903). The preface to *Thaïs*, which is signed by "RBD" (Robert B. Douglas), played up the tensions between English and French literary culture while defending the novel's liberal treatment of the Alexandrian courtesan: "To the English reader, his style is suggestive of Steele and Thackeray, and, like the latter writer, he will be more appreciated by men than by women, and by men of a certain degree of culture. The same satiric wit is found in both, but the French author, not being so much under the influence of Mrs. Grundy, is not obliged to confine himself to mercenary marriages, mothers-in-law, and those exhibitions of snobbism which Thackeray delighted to chastise."[87] The paratextual discourse around these translations, both in Carrington's promotional material and in the critical reviews, focused on the "silver rib" of these "Englished" books, the anomalies that revealed their foreign character. The same is true of Carrington's translations of other works by contemporary French writers—Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly's *Weird Women* (1900), Octave Mirbeau's, *The Diary of a Lady's* Maid (1903), Pierre Louÿs's *Aphrodite* (1906), and Pierre Loti's *A Spahi's Love Story* (1907).[88] A number of these translations were the subject of internal debate among British government officials and even appeared on Britain's 1929 list of banned books from France.

The third and fourth lines of Carrington's Paris editions were

not made up of translations, but rather original English books and reprints that Carrington published from France. These too were foreign books, however, insofar as they were expatriated and deterritorialized. Some of them were clandestine pornographic novels like *Raped on the Railway of the Scotch Express* (c. 1899) and *Suburban Souls* (1901).[89] Others were new novels that Carrington openly published from Paris and even had reviewed in the British press. One example was John Cameron Grant's *The Ethiopian* (1900), a lurid story ripped from the headlines during the scramble for Africa.[90] (The bitter historical irony is that the most grossly racist of Carrington's Paris editions escaped censorship and the charge of indecency). Finally, Carrington's fourth line of Paris editions consisted of reprints of banned English books that no British publisher would dare to put on his list. Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* was his most important publishing venture of this kind. I will say more about Wilde, but my point for now is that Carrington's different lines of Paris editions, whether double-editions, translations, or outsourced reprints, expatriated the English book with their provocative publishing formats and modes of distribution.

The look of Carrington's Paris editions, I must also mention, made them stand out as startlingly different and foreign. His books were not cloaked behind discrete covers and chaste titles (though sometimes they hid behind false imprints like "Carnopolis").[91] Instead they were audacious in design and experimented with different looks and materials inspired by the renaissance in French book arts and the shakeup in British book design in the 1890s.[92] Their strangeness could simply be ascribed to the eccentricity of the expatriate publisher who dabbled in a bit of everything. But their material eccentricity and antipurist aesthetic were so shocking in their nonconformity to the English book that they had an aggressive and dangerous materiality that combined with their estranging modes of distribution.

Carrington's promotional literature shows that he was well versed in bibliographic idiom and deeply involved in what he called the book's "get up." A full-page advertisement for his first publication *Marriage-Love and Womankind* (*The Book of Exposition*) (1896), for example, offers a lengthy description of "the Form and Style of the Book":

> The volume is a large post octavo, occupies some 300 pages, is printed on Dutch hand-made paper, with wide margins, and untrimmed edges, title in red and black, parchment bound in black cloth covers; and

> contains, as Frontispiece, *a clever original Eau-Forte sur bistre,* specially designed and engraved for the book by a French artist; in short, we have spared no efforts to produce a work of typographic art which will be sure to rise to much more than its published price and to be sought for hereafter by Amateurs and Book-hoarders.[93]

Though he changed printers and materials over his career, Carrington's propensity was to go big and bold, experimenting with size, color, font, and decorative ornament. This tendency to overdesign helped make his books recognizable, while also eliciting the affective tension behind their "appeal to the eye."[94]

Carrington's Paris editions were first and foremost conspicuous in size and heft. Whether openly or privately issued, his books were typically octavos printed on thick handmade Dutch Van Gelder paper, which he sometimes had watermarked with his name. Their size announced their durability, expensiveness, and visibility. They were unlike the Decadent publications of British publisher John Lane, who evoked the look of expensive editions, but cut costs by turning to smaller octavo formats and remaindered paper.[95] They were also unlike other privately printed pornographic publications. Isidore Liseux and August Brancart's clandestine books circulating in Britain were generally small, slim volumes, as were the books produced by Smithers and H. S. Nichols for their Erotika Biblion Society series. Carrington's books by contrast were generally impossible to slip into a pocket and conceal discretely. Their transportation would also have been more difficult. These material indicators pointed to a high-end, luxury book market, but also indicated an insistence on visibility. He was leveraging a material luxury to insist on the cultural legitimacy of his Paris editions, but also set them uncompromisingly apart in so doing.

Carrington's books were also conspicuously different in their garish use of color. He was partial to red, which he regularly used on title pages to call attention to the title and his name. His use of red challenged the more conservative aesthetic of the influential French publisher Edouard Pelletan who wrote in 1896 that books should be black and white.[96] Carrington instead proudly advertised that his books were in red and black. The more expensive the book, the more colorful it became. Each page of *Tortures and Torments of the Christian Martyrs* (1903) is framed with a red border, as were many of his other publications.[97] For variety, he switched the red frame with an "elegant artistic green border" for his translation of France's *The Well of Santa Clara* (1903).[98] *The Satyricon of Petronius* (1902) has



4.6. Illustration from *One Hundred Merrie and Delightsome Stories* (Paris: Charles Carrington [1899]). Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction.



4.7. Illustration for Jean de Villiot, *Parisienne et peaux-rouges* (Paris : Charles Carrington, 1904). Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction.

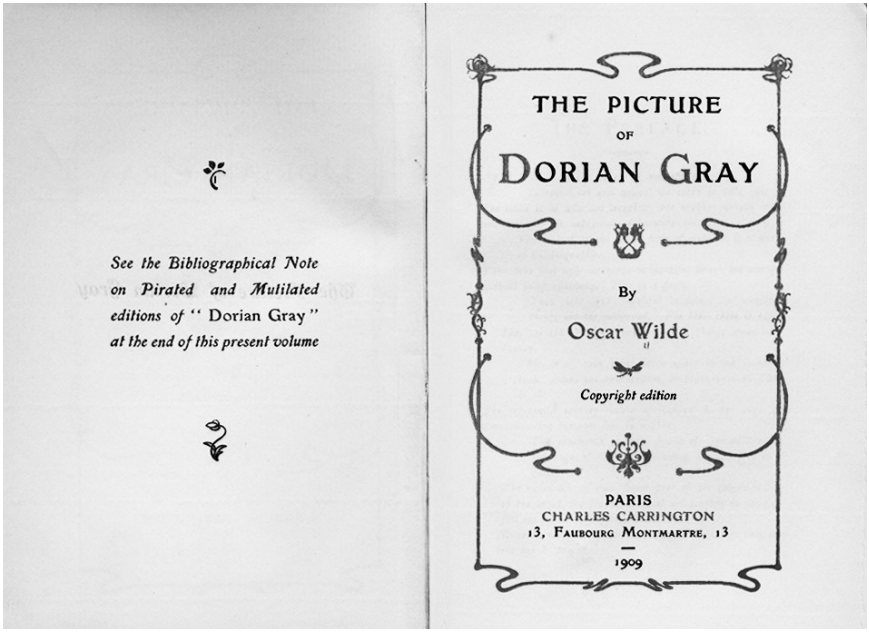
chapter headings and inset summaries (*manchettes*) printed in red and *The Most Delectable Nights of Straparola* (1906) has printer's ornaments and decorative initials in red. Carrington put a special premium on color, lighting up his lurid titles along with his name better to help them stand out.[99]

This effect was heightened by the numerous illustrations that lit up so many of his Paris editions, as well as his other books (figs. 4.6 and 4.7). Over his career he employed over twenty illustrators who specialized in illustrative techniques from watercolor to copperplate engravings. Among his most regular illustrators were Paul Avril, Adolphe Lambrecht, Léon Lebègue, Martin van Maele, and J. Wely. They were predominately French, and many also illustrated for French publishers of *éditions de luxe* and periodicals such as *Gil Blas illustré, La Plume,* and *Le Rire.*[100] The illustrations set Carrington's books apart from other privately printed pornographic publications that were typically not illustrated. After Edward Avery's publications in the 1880s, most pornographic books did not include illustrations. The French-designed illustrations, which sometimes even included

French titles or text, also emphasized the use of foreign artists in the production of his English books. At the same time they taunted the authorities with their sexual themes. *Stories from the Folk-Lore of Russia* (1897) includes a color frontispiece by J. Wely of a naked woman in stockings reading a large picture book (see fig. 3.1), and colored illustrations of nude women by Lambrecht, Lebègue, and Maele accompany some of Carrington's most expensive books. It was not just the content that was sexually provocative—it was the medium itself. Illustrations were not protected under French press laws, and by including them, Carrington dared both French and British authorities with their material dissidence.

Typographical experimentation set Carrington's Paris editions even further apart as books from abroad. This was particularly true around 1903, when he began experimenting with an art nouveau typeface that was partly derived from script and named after its French designer Eugène Grasset.[101] Carrington started to use this Grasset typeface just a couple of years after its introduction by the type foundry G. Peignet & Fils at the Exposition Universelle de Paris in 1900. He used the same distinctive typeface for his clandestine and open publications. His privately printed pornographic publications such as *Orange Blossoms* (1903) and *The Modern Eveline* (1904) share the same Grasset typeface as his openly published and well-publicized editions of *The Well of Santa Clara* (1903), *Women that Pass in the Night* (1906), and *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1909).[102] A review in the *Liverpool Mercury* of Carrington's edition of France's *The Well of Santa Clara,* called attention to how materially distinctive and "un-English" it was:

> In all its extraneous aspects it is a charming book to take in the hand. Its beautiful hand-made paper is a pleasure in itself; and, although the wriggling green border line round each page of letterpress may be looked upon as an excrescence by those who are not head over heels in love with the fashions of "l'Art Nouveau," the clear type and broad margins cannot fail to bring delight to the eyes of the bibliophile. The literary character of the work itself possesses that curious remoteness from the ordinary phases of modern fiction which the enterprises of Mr. Carrington have taught us to expect. Many of our readers will be familiar with the work of Anatole France in the original, and will not need reminding that its translation into English changes only its literal form whilst leaving its tone essentially un-English. Ideas which, either from a higher sense of refinement or a want of courage, we are accustomed to veil in delicate language, are expressed by the French writer in candid



4.8. Title-page in Grasset typeface for *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1909). William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Los Angeles.

> terms—not that there is any grossness, but a virile frankness, especially in his humour—in certain parts of "The Well of St. Clara."[103]

Although the reviewer was seduced by the uncompromising difference of Carrington's edition, it is easy to see how the book could have also elicited the opposite reaction. By returning again and again to his "suggestive" and cutting-edge use of "New Grasset characters," for his translations of French novels or for his editions of well-known English ones like *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (fig. 4.8), Carrington gave a foreign face to his English books that was as expressive and alienating as any foreign word or syntax.[104] What is more he created a visual link between his secret and open publications, putting them on equal footing and introducing a material challenge to the uncertain cultural distinctions between what could and could not be openly published, what was literature and what was pornography, and what was English and what was foreign.

Even though Carrington's Grasset-style books are among his most successful, the design of a good number of his books can admittedly be described as madcap. He liked to accessorize the

design of the book with its theme. He had fifty copies of his English edition of Leopold von Sacher-Masoch's *Venus in Furs* (1902) "bound in Russian fur."[105] He paired Eastern style flaps and oriental designs with his books translated from the Arabic. Printer's ornaments in the form of whips, handcuffs, cobwebs, and bats accompany some of his books on flagellation, while Japanese-inspired designs accompany a book about exotic women from the Far East.[106] He evidently collaborated with certain printers in designing thematic decorative ornaments. He also valued a faithful historicity in book design. Pushed to such an extreme, this matching aesthetic only accentuated how strange his books were. His English and French editions of the bawdy Italian Renaissance tales *The Most Delectable Nights of Straparola* (1906) use a Garamond typeface in an attempt to synchronize type and text. This sixteenth-century font, as he explained in one of his catalogues, conserved the original punchcuts from the sixteenth century.[107]

He followed the same principles for his publications on medieval themes, such as *One Hundred Merrie and Delightsome Stories* (1899). This was the first English translation by Robert B. Douglas of the ribald medieval stories *Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles* (falsely attributed to Louis XI). After the first edition appeared with a cover image by Lebègue of a knight and medieval lady reading a book (see fig. 4.1), Carrington commissioned the French artist to produce another fifty-two hand-colored illustrations, which he extraordinarily defended as "delightfully liberal as befits the character of the stories, . . . yet saved from the reproach of coarseness and vulgarity by their rich medieaval colour, and that striking combination of tone and effect."[108] He continued to publish these medieval-style books in French with Lebègue's racy illustrations, most notably Honoré de Balzac's *La Mye du Roy* (1902) and Anatole France's *Histoire de dona Maria d'Avalos et du duc d'Andria* (1902).[109] Among his most expensive books, originally selling for up to two hundred francs, they were printed by the eminent French printer H. Lahure in the style of illuminated medieval manuscripts and after Morris's Kelmscott Press books. As Carrington boasted in one of his book catalogues, his works were "equal in scholarship and typography to the finest productions of the Kelmscott Press."[110] Carrington's Kelmscott imitations, however, were x-rated versions. They were pornographic interpretations of Morris's medieval design aesthetic, yet another expatriation of the English book and challenge to British culture, this time staged in a different language.

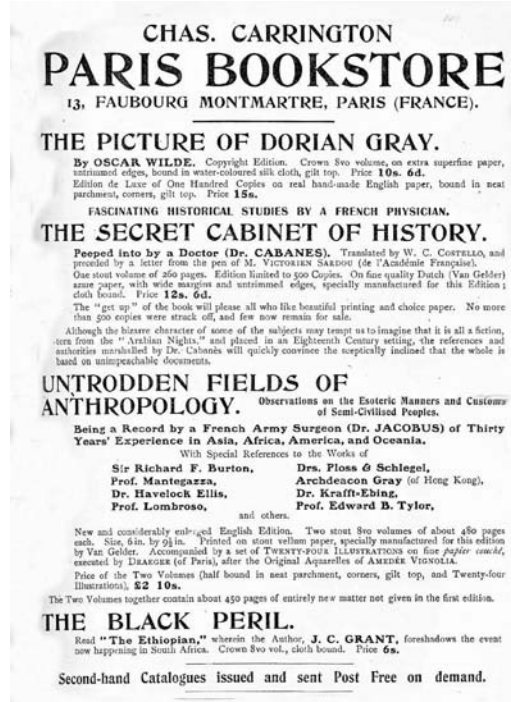
It must not have been difficult for a customs agent or post office official to recognize a Carrington publication—and yet he rarely resorted to false wrappers. Choices like these suggest that his relationship to his books was not just business, but also a form of "material social practice" (a new relationship to one's materials signaling a new relationship of art to society).[111] Carrington's bright, big Paris editions, like translated and foreign words, were used to expand and disrupt the literary field and the larger communications circuit. More specifically, he used different materials (paper, ink, type) and modes of production (book-pairs, translations, reprints) to unsettle the relations of power and exclusion that structured literary and cultural fields. This material social practice via foreign words and supplies can further be understood as the expression of his adversarial expatriate internationalism. A critique that could be mounted against Carrington is that he typically resorted to expensive and esoteric materials to mount his challenge against sexual repression and censorship, but, as Adorno writes, extremes are the only way to shock the social system.[112] It is also important to keep in mind that however rare, expensive, and luxurious some of Carrington's editions were, most of them were not protected by copyright. They could be pirated and reprinted in any new format, for any new reader, as indeed they were by contemporary rivals and later publishers who followed his footsteps in Paris.[113] The networks of communication and socialization that clung to his Paris editions were, arguably, more material than the actual materials. The more dangerous and hateful views sometimes promulgated in Carrington's Paris editions and sustained by these same networks were, unfortunately, also part of Carrington's expatriate internationalism.[114]

"Oscar the Outcast"

A closer focus on Carrington's Paris edition of Oscar Wilde's famous Decadent novel *The Picture of Dorian Gray* offers a specific example of how one of his expatriated books ran wild and opened up "little cells of resistance" to British and anglophone culture from abroad.[115] Deeply influenced by Joris-Karl Huysmans' novel *A rebours* (1884),[116] the novel treats the moral corruption of a beautiful young man and his indulgence in sin, sex, and sensation. It was first published in 1890, in *Lippincott Monthly Magazine,* then published again in 1891 in an extended book format by the London firm Ward, Lock & Co.[117] Since Wilde's 1895 trials for "gross indecency,"

in which the first, more explicit, *Lippincott's* version of his novel was brought into play as proof of the author's "improper feelings," *The Picture of Dorian Gray* was caught up in a "vague fog of obscenity."[118] Ward, Lock, & Co. had reprinted it in 1894, but it was remaindered within a year, and the publisher was ready to drop the book from its list after Wilde's trials.[119] An ad placed in the *Publishers' Circular* at the end of that year reveals a bookseller trying to capitalize on the notoriety of the "great trial" by selling these remaindered copies "suppressed by the publishers."[120] Carrington similarly appears to have realized this novel was the perfect sex book to add to his list of Paris editions: as Wilde's friend Robert Sherard wrote from France, "the demand for his books is constant and large sums are being made by the second-hand booksellers."[121] Around 1901, just after Wilde's death in a Paris hotel, Carrington bought the licensing rights for the novel from Ward, Lock, & Co. In 1905, seeing "that the book was selling," he bought the English rights outright for sixty pounds.[122] In his hands, Wilde's novel was thus transformed into a Paris edition unfit for British readers.

Between 1901 and 1913, Carrington published at least seven limited editions of *The Picture of Dorian Gray,* in a variety of formats priced between seven-and-a-half and fifteen shillings. Among these was the very first illustrated edition of the novel, published in 1910 and featuring engravings by Parisian artist Paul Thiriat.[123] The various editions of the novel were advertised as the "sole copyright and complete Paris edition" and singled out from shoddy piracies issued on the continent and in America.[124] Although Carrington legitimized his editions, he also distributed them alongside his other, more dubious, publications that could never have been published in Britain. The Paris *Picture of Dorian Gray* was thus promoted alongside anthropological and historical works that were more prurient than scholarly, such as *The Untrodden Fields of Anthropology* (1898) and *The Secret Cabinet of History* (1897) (fig. 4.9).[125] It was also repeatedly linked to other novels dealing with the topic of male homosexuality. Hidden in his 1909 edition of Wilde's novel, for example, is a prospectus for his clandestine edition of *Escal Vigor* (1909). This was a translation of Georges Eekhoud's novel, which had been brought before the Belgian courts on account of its homosexual content (fig. 4.10).[126] Even more daring, in a secret catalogue of "Rare and Curious Books," issued by Carrington about five years earlier, he linked *The Picture of Dorian Gray* to a clandestine pornographic novel about star-crossed male lovers. The catalogue entry for this



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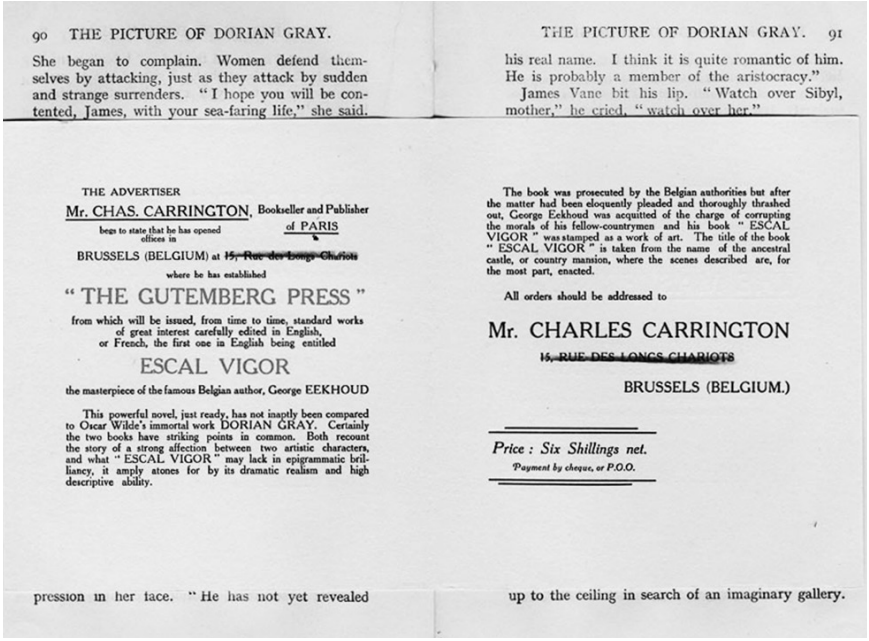
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4.9. Charles Carrington advertisement for his Paris bookstore (c. 1901), *Bibliotheca Carringtoniensis: Being a Collection of the Descriptive Title Pages of Certain Books Published by Charles Carrington of Paris*. Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction.

novel, titled *Teleny; or the Reverse of the Medal* (1893), reads as follows: "We may say that the writer referred to above is stated on good authority to be no other than Oscar Wilde. This becomes the more convincing when we compare the style of his famous "Dorian Gray" with the present brilliant but AWFULLY LEWD book."[127] There is no conclusive evidence to corroborate Carrington's claim that Wilde authored this work. But evidence was irrelevant. He had *The Picture of Dorian Gray* circulating in French "get up" alongside other strange books moving through interconnected homosexual and pornographic networks, each edition of the novel accumulating more of the dissident cultural residues of its expatriate production and distribution.

Subsequent negotiations over the rights of *The Picture of Dorian Gray* between Carrington and Wilde's literary executor Robert Ross signaled a degree of uneasiness about these foreign editions of the novel. Ross wanted to purchase the rights from Carrington in order to include the novel in the collected edition of Wilde's works that he was editing in consultation with Christopher Millard (as Stuart Mason) and was to be published by the London firm



90 THE PICTURE OF DORIAN GRAY.

She began to complain. Women defend themselves by attacking, just as they attack by sudden and strange surrenders. "I hope you will be contented, James, with your sea-faring life," she said.

THE PICTURE OF DORIAN GRAY. 91

his real name. I think it is quite romantic of him. He is probably a member of the aristocracy."

James Vane bit his lip. "Watch over Sibyl, mother," he cried, "watch over her."

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4.10. Advertisement insert for *Escal Vigor* (Bruxelles: The Gutemberg Press [Carrington], 1909) in *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1909). William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Los Angeles.

Methuen & Co. Neither he nor the publisher, however, was able to afford Carrington's enormous asking price. As Ross recounted in his correspondence with Millard:

> Every kind of effort has been made to obtain *Dorian Gray* but Charrington's [*sic*] final demand was four hundred and twenty five pounds. Of course neither Methuen nor the Wilde estate nor myself have got that amount of money and even if we had I do not really think it is worth that. Methuen would be fairly willing to pay a reasonable sum for a license to include *Dorian Gray* in the uniform edition. . . . Charrington [*sic*] only owns the English rights and all we really want of him is the right to sell five hundred copies and fifty Japanese. We would if he preferred it give him a royalty of fifteen per cent which is the exact amount that Methuen is giving for the other old books. . . . Except for the sentiment of having all the books of Wilde's complete in at least one edition I am really indifferent and I don't mind in the least who publishes it. The only people who will be irritated are the public.

> Methuen highly disapproves of Dorian Grey [*sic*] and is delighted that there are so many difficulties. Charrington [*sic*] has not got such a really great asset as he thinks. It is certainly not worth what he thinks.[128]

Carrington never sold the rights to Methuen, but ultimately agreed to publish an edition of the novel that was uniform with Methuen's collection, and it appeared as the twelfth volume of the *Collected Works* (1908–1922) under his own imprint. An introduction to this volume by Ross thanks Carrington for compromising: "The only object of my intrusion here, however, is to express my very best thanks to Mr. Charles Carrington, the publisher and owner of *Dorian Gray*, for permitting it to appear as a volume in the uniform edition of Oscar Wilde's authentic works."[129]

Carrington's earlier editions of *The Picture of Dorian Gray* looked notably different. They conformed to his lurid red and black design aesthetic, which may have struck some as "twisted and hysterical" as their publisher. This edition conformed both visually and materially to the other Methuen editions—it was even printed by the same Edinburgh press. Both Ross and Millard were deeply sympathetic to Wilde and had their own personal stakes in decriminalizing homosexuality, but the purpose of the *Collected Works* was to raise Wilde's literary reputation in Britain after his calumnious trial and imprisonment. Ross communicated this message explicitly in a letter to the French writer Cécil Georges-Bazile: "I do not want Wilde's name associated with delicate questions of propriety or impropriety: I want to have his name associated with literature. . . . I want everything of a sexual nature in connection with Wilde's name to be forgotten."[130] Although Millard carried on a side conversation with Carrington about his other prospective publications, and Ross claimed indifference about who published *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, the Methuen project involved riding Wilde's novel of its Paris "get up" and reigning it back into legitimated publishing circles on British soil. It should not go unnoticed that at the Methuen launch party held at the Ritz Hotel in London in late 1908, the Methuen representative, Ross, and Millard were all present, but Carrington was conspicuously absent.[131]

Carrington may have compromised in issuing the uniform edition of *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, and he certainly tried to profit from this alliance with Methuen, but he also undermined his concession to the British literary establishment. A letter to the editor of the *Academy* in 1909, in response to another letter about the

supposed missing volume of *The Picture of Dorian Gray* from the Methuen *Collected Works,* made sure to bring the focus back to Paris and Carrington's expatriate outfit:

> I am one of the many, sir, who agree with the writer of the article in question in thinking that "The Picture of Dorian Gray" to be one of Wilde's very finest works. I hold no brief for Messrs. Methuen, who did not include the volume in their edition of 1908; still less do I hold one for the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, upon whose advice, as I understand, the volume was omitted, and who must now, surely, be branded as a meddlesome literary critic of the worst type; but I think it a pity that the readers of the article referred to should suppose that by purchasing Messrs. Methuen's edition they are not able to obtain a uniform edition of all of Wilde's works.
>
> Mr. Charles Carrington, publisher and bookseller, of 15 Faubourg Montmartre [*sic*], Paris, in 1908, allowed an edition of "The Picture of Dorian Gray"—of which, I understand, he is the owner—to "appear as a volume in the uniform edition of Oscar Wilde's authentic works" (Messrs. Methuen's edition of 1908)—"an edition which otherwise would have been incomplete." I quote Mr. Robert Ross, who writes an editorial note to the book. The edition of this volume, I may say, is like the set to which it belongs, limited to 1,000 copies, and may be obtained either from the publisher direct, or through any high-class bookseller, at a cost of 12s.6d.
>
> I feel that the gratitude of the book-loving public is due to Mr. Carrington for allowing the issue of this book uniformly with Messrs. Methuen's edition.
>
> BASIL HALLWARD[132]

The letter attacks the Oxford literary critic and raises the profile of the insightful Paris publisher while again playing up the novel's notoriety. It also reclaims the uniform edition as a Paris edition that can be purchased directly from the expatriate publisher. Despite the mistake in the publisher's address, it is highly likely that Carrington himself wrote this letter, though it is curious that he signed it Basil Hallward after one of the novel's principal characters, whose inordinate passion for Dorian Gray was brought up during the 1895 trials. Is it possible that he himself was he actively engaging what we might now call a queer politics?

As Carrington's many name changes indicate, he was wont to make things up, and this kind of publicity was part of his larger promotional machine around Wilde, his literary genius, his homosexuality,

and his expatriation to Paris. In addition to *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, he published other Paris editions connected to Wilde. Along with Smithers, he was responsible for pirating "almost the entirety of Wilde's canon . . . within six years of his death."[133] At the same time he falsely attributed translations of Barbey d'Aurevilly's *What Never Dies* (1902) and *The Satyricon of Petronius* (1902) to the disgraced writer.[134] The foreword to *What Never Dies*, likely written by Carrington himself, created a Romantic portrait of outcast Wilde throwing himself into the translation: "When ostracised, declassed and forsaken, he found in France a few moments of forgetfulness in wrestling with the thorny, prickly prose of the great French master of the romantic school. The translation of Barbey's throbbing tale is a *tour de force*, which none but the wretched writer could have made presentable to the English reader."[135] In Carrington's prospectus for *What Never Dies*, moreover, he created the impression that he was in step with Wilde in Paris and British culture in semi-exile by describing at length a chance encounter with the author in the streets of Paris near his Faubourg Montmartre bookshop:

> The publisher of the present book was walking along the *Boulevard des Italiens* on a sultry evening of the early part of the summer of 1900, when suddenly he espied the well-known form of Oscar Wilde seated at the terrace of the *Café de Madrid*.
>
> Having been introduced by a famous London publisher some time previously, we rapidly entered into conversation, and, after the usual remarks about the weather, and enquiries as to health, the conversation quickly took a literary and philosophical tone. . . .
>
> We talked of celebrated literary characters whom he had known. I had only lately produced "*Les Diaboliques*" of Barbey d'Aurevilly in English, under the title of "Weird Women." Of this book and its author he was full of praise. "The Crimson Curtain," he said, "is the most perfect form of short story I have yet read. It is," he continued, "many years since I read this work, and indeed I commenced and nearly finished a complete novel of Barby [*sic*] d'Aurevilly, when other matters more pressing obliged me to lay the work aside."
>
> I immediately, as the saying goes, "pricked up my ears," and was not long in eliciting that the work in question was "*Ce qui ne meurt pas.*" After some discussion I got Oscar Wilde to promise that he would try and find time to finish his MS. of this book for publication. "Well," said he, "I will accept our terms on one condition: that you will not make commercial speculation of the work, as it is hardly a book intended for general circulation, and that you will print no more than five hundred

copies of it at the most, and issue these at a price which will put them out of the reach of your *concierge* and coal-merchant." This undertaking I readily gave, and have since religiously observed.

Very shortly after Wilde had finished his book, the terrible news was rapidly spread about that in the humble lodging where the stern hand of fate and the bitterness of whilom friends had driven him, he had passed away to everlasting peace.[136]

There was in fact no such café on this street, but Carrington may have been referring to the Calisaya on the same street, a "little bar" which, said Vincent O' Sullivan, tolerated Wilde and the "little creatures he picked up off the streets."[137] Whether or not Carrington actually happened upon Wilde while walking the Paris boulevards is unknown, especially given that he later admitted that Wilde was neither the translator of Barbey d'Aurevilly nor of Petronius. Possibly under pressure by Wilde's literary estate, or possibly because Millard had publicly exposed these translations as incorrectly attributed to Wilde, Carrington appended a nota bene to his 1909 edition of *The Picture of Dorian Gray:*

It has been ascertained that the English translations of the following two books, the SATYRICON OF PETRONIUS, from the Latin (1902), and WHAT NEVER DIES (1902) from the French of Barbey d'Aurevilly, published in Paris, have been attributed quite erroneously to the pen of OSCAR WILDE. It is therefore desired to state that these two works, issued in limited editions, are no longer offered *as authentic productions* of the talented author of DORIAN GRAY, albeit the Parisian publisher was led to believe, from their brilliancy and thoroughness, that they really were the work of the one time SEBASTIAN MELMOTH.[138]

Gregory Mackie argues that Carrington (as well as Smithers) capitalized on Wilde's notoriety. Though it is true that he was interested in profit, even to the point of perpetuating literary frauds, his publishing activities around Wilde were also more culturally and socially disruptive. Mackie assumes that Carrington was only a pornographer, but as we have seen, his list was extremely varied and reflected a pattern of leveling and estranging the Anglo-French literary fields, blurring distinctions between pornography and literature, and denouncing sexual repression and censorship. More than just profiting from piracies and spurious translations, moreover, Carrington was interested in publishing an original biography about Wilde. In 1902 he had Hugues Rebell write Wilde's friend

Robert Sherard with a proposal to author English and French versions of such a biography: "An English publisher in business in Paris for the past decade, Mr. Carrington, wants to publish a biography of Oscar Wilde. . . . You would write it in English and French. If this assignment is agreeable to you, please send word to Carrington at 13 Faubourg Montmartre. I think he will offer you acceptable conditions."[139]

Carrington's use of Rebell as an emissary was not politically dispassionate. Rebell was one of Wilde's earliest supporters. In 1895, he wrote a piece titled the "Défense D'Oscar Wilde" for *Le Mercure de France*, and Wilde wrote Sherard from prison asking him to thank Rebell, adding "I need not say how deeply touched I am by any kindness from an artist."[140] Rebell also networked with Wilde's other friends, including Millard. Before Millard started negotiating with Carrington about the publication of a new work on Wilde's trials, which would supplement the compendium of shorthand reports Carrington had published as *The Trial of Oscar Wilde* (1906), Rebell hosted Millard at his home and seems to have sent him his French translation of Wilde's essays *Intentions* (1906), also published by Carrington.[141] It is odd that Millard sought out Carrington as a potential publisher as it was his bibliographical work on Wilde that exposed Carrington's Wilde piracies and spurious attributions. What this alignment suggests is that Carrington's Paris editions appealed to British homosexuals like Millard, even though he was participating in a larger project of the British literary establishment to repatriate Wilde's legacy from the pirates and hucksters at home and abroad. In other words, even if Carrington's motives for publishing Wilde may not have been pure, his publishing business was opening up certain expatriate encounters and conversations that could not be had at home.

Adhering to Carrington's foreign editions of Wilde's works, moreover, was the detritus of these expatriate encounters and conversations in "immoral Paris." And they continued to circulate in Paris through the early 1920s. When Carrington passed away in 1921, his rights for *The Picture of Dorian Gray* were bought by his successors Groves & Michaux along with most of his stock. Despite efforts of Ward, Lock, and Co. to repurchase the rights, the novel continued to circulate in pornographic distribution channels.[142] It is through these channels that the American expatriate Sylvia Beach purchased copies of Wilde's novel for her famous English bookstore

in Paris, Shakespeare and Company. Although Beach is best known for publishing James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922) when no one else would or could, Wilde was one of the first literary figures the lesbian bookseller stood behind.[143] Photographs of the author dressed as a dandy appeared on the brown burlap-covered walls, announcing her sexual politics as boldly as any manifesto and positioning her as an intermediary in homosexual social networks. According to business records, now held at Princeton University Library's Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, *The Picture of Dorian Gray* was the best-selling book the first few years she was in business. Some of these copies were pirated continental editions by Tauchnitz, but a good number of them were Carrington's Paris editions of the novel. In her 1922 account book, she notes the receipt of "6 copies Dorian Grey [*sic*] at Carrington's."[144] Clearly she was not chary about dealing with Carrington and his men.

Many years earlier Joyce wrote a letter to his brother, in which he complained about the veiled homosexual allusions in *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. Commenting on an Italian translation he was reading, he wrote on August 16, 1906:

> I have just finished reading Dorian Grey [*sic*]. Some chapters are like Huysmans, catalogued atrocities, lots of perfumes and instruments. The central idea is fantastic. Dorian is exquisitely beautiful and becomes awfully wicked: but never ages. I can imagine the capital which Wilde's prosecuting counsel made out of certain parts of it. It is not very difficult to read between the lines. Wilde seems to have had some good intentions in writing it—some wish to put himself before the world—but the book is rather crowded with lies and epigrams. If he had had the courage to develop the allusions in the book it might have been better. I suspect he has done this in some privately-printed books.[145]

What Joyce did not consider when he disparaged the novel for being too timorous was the historical flotsam of scandal, tragedy, and sexual radicalism that clung to it, the expatriate cultural currents that ensured its survival, the pornographic production and distribution that framed how it was "read between the lines," and the eccentric publisher in the closet of high modernism. Carrington's Paris editions were more than just a publishing venture; they were also a material social practice of expatriate internationalism for those at the margins of history.

Bibliographical Musings

Carrington did not explicitly write about the social and cultural motivations behind his Paris editions. He did, however, leave some bibliographical musings in several essays and self-published books that he wrote in both French and English. Although these musings never consolidated into a manifesto for his Paris editions, they suggest the dissident impulses behind them that shifted between affective modes of revelry and disaffection.

At the height of his career, Carrington issued a secret bibliography called *Forbidden Books* (1902), which he had clandestinely published under the imprint "for the author and his friends." A chatty bibliography by an "old bibliophile," it includes notes on a wide variety of books collated together as "forbidden": including both Carrington's open and clandestine publications. Book design and bibliographical content clearly point to Carrington as author and publisher. As Peter Mendes observes, the bibliography is essentially an advertisement for Carrington's publications.[146] But this bibliography is a strange amalgamation of self-promotion and misdirection that aligns him with the pornographic book trade while also concealing these very ties. The book is thus at once advertisement and bibliographical ruse, suggesting Carrington's revelry in the cloak-and-dagger thrills of trading Paris editions, in smuggling his books past customs agents, in maneuvering the outlying communications circuit, and in challenging British literary culture and censorship. In a prospectus for his bibliography, he neatly sums up his bibliophilic pleasures in dealing his books from abroad: "It is not often that a man of the world is a bibliophile, or a bibliophile a man of the world."[147]

One of the bibliography's main fictions is that the author is a bibliophile rather than a bookseller-publisher. Carrington establishes this fictive persona in the preface where he creates a false biography for himself as an old man in his dotage whose passion rather than profession is forbidden books:

> I was a long way over thirty and had never troubled to read a really obscene book, although I knew that such volumes existed. I had always been a lover of fiction, and having been brought up before the age of bicycles and lawn-tennis, I think I must have given a little more time to literature than our boys of to-day. Just about that time I stumbled across a catalogue of condemned works, and in hunting through it, I was struck by the wonderful titles of the books that had been persecuted, and was also stupefied to find how under different political

> regimes, so many great men had suffered for their opinions expressed in pamphlets or in gazettes. . . . From thence to hunting up the books I saw in the catalogue was but a step, and so I blossomed into a bibliophile, if you can so call a collector of forbidden books. For I never troubled much about any others. This mania kept me amused and interested for some thirty years or more.[148]

Carrington minimizes his professional knowledge by adopting the persona of the old book lover, and he continues this fiction throughout the bibliography, with hapless admissions such as "I never was proficient in real, learned bibliography," and "I am far from being an authority."[149] Being an old bibliophile was part of his cover and yet another self-transformation to add to his long list, but it also suggests his satyric outlook on his business in Paris editions.

But his satyrism had a subversive quality. While continuing to play up this fictive role as amateur bibliophile, Carrington alludes to the constraints imposed on him by his sometimes "worthy" and sometimes "stern publisher" who prevents him from disclosing names or lengthening extracts.[150] He comments sardonically, for example, on the difficulties undertaken by the publisher of the *Manual of Classical Erotology* (1899), which was an English translation of Karl Friedrich Forberg's Latin compendium. The book, said to have been published in Manchester in 1884 for Viscount Julian Smithson, was actually printed in Paris for Carrington and regularly appeared in his catalogues. The entry reads:

> Were I a bookseller, I do not think I should ever take the trouble to print such a book as I have now before me. . . . The two stout volumes have evidently been printed on the Continent—and for very good and valid reasons, as no English printer would dare to undertake such work,—therefore, each page would have to be submitted to the translator, at least three or four times, foreign compositors working mechanically. Many months would thus pass in wearisome proof-reading, and when at last the hundred copies are struck off, and each man receives his due, what margin of profit awaits the silly bookseller-publisher? He is insulted in every way and laughed at if he dares to wonder that the British Customs seize any copies. He must not be indignant, if he is termed a vendor of festering obscenity, and may deem himself lucky if he does not get popped into prison for a lengthy period. Foolish man, why try and unearth forgotten masterpieces, such as this, that touch on subjects tabooed in every English-speaking country? Bring out a new six-shilling novel.[151]

Although Carrington ridicules the "silly" expatriate publisher of forbidden books who hampers himself with translations and foreign compositors, he is actually speaking about his own business and underlining the importance of defying prudery and customs agents for the sake of suppressed "masterpieces." There is no profit in this trade, he suggests, only literary politics. Via a fictive cover, bibliographical lie, and esoteric irony, Carrington thus outlines a material social practice behind his Paris editions.

Forbidden Books also leaves beguiling clues about the secret dealings of the pornographic book trade. Carrington's prospectus for the bibliography promises as much: "Those who are fond of erotic literature will find useful hints and indications in this dainty typographical jewel."[152] For whom is he leaving these clues—his friends or future readers? Were they like "transparent crystals that may at some future time" connect readers in cultural and social dissent?[153] He gives hints, for example, about the murky publication history of the famous eleven-volume diary *My Secret Life* (c. 1888–1894):

> About the year 1888, a well-known bookseller and publisher of Amsterdam, whose specialty was literature of an incandescent kind, was summoned to London by one of his customers, a rich old Englishman, who desired to have privately printed for his own enjoyment an enormous MSS; containing in the fullest detail all the secret venereal delights of his existence. He defrayed all costs of printing, on condition that no more than six copies should be struck off. A few years afterwards, this eccentric amateur shuffled off the mortal coil; and a few copies of the extraordinary work made a timid appearance on the market, being quoted at the high figure of £100! It is evident that many more than the half-dozen copies stipulated must have been printed—let us say about twenty-five or so—as I have not unfrequently [*sic*] seen a complete series.[154]

Carrington tantalizes readers with half-revealed trade secrets about the publication of *My Secret Life.* Bibliographers have puzzled over the identity of the "rich old gentleman," focusing in on the textile trader and book collector Henry Spencer Ashbee. As for the Amsterdam publisher, bibliographical evidence indicates it was August Brancart, but Mendes also speculates about Carrington's possible involvement as a traveling agent between London and Amsterdam.[155] In short, the "old bibliophile's" hints propel readers to track down these foreign books and dealers and become proxy participants in the outlying communications circuit. His musings

open up the possibility of a shared carousing through the bibliography of Paris editions.

But Carrington's bibliography is also filled with the unpalatable dark side of his publishing revelry, the "sexism and racism" brought up earlier. His lengthy entry for John Cameron Grant's *The Ethiopian* (1900) suggests some of the erotic fantasies behind his publishing activities. Openly published and advertised in the London *Times*, the novel was ripped from the headlines, coupling sensational news reports about cannibalism in West Africa (Sierra Leone) with fears of interracial desire.[156] Carrington calls for a privately printed edition of the book, suggesting that the author "trembled exceedingly in front of Mrs Grundy"—again obfuscating his own role in its production. As if answering his own call, he offers a pornographic version of interracial desire in his bibliographical entry. He begins by including a translation of an advertisement posted in the Paris newspaper *Le Journal* in February 1895 under the category "Matrimony":

> A distinguished young woman wishes to make the acquaintance of a rich negro or mulatto gentleman. No objection to travel. Desdemona, *Le Journal* Office.[157]

Carrington in fact adapted this advertisement from one that appeared in the "Divers" column of *Le Journal* on February 2 of the same year:

> Une femme dist., des. faire la conn. de Mr. negre ou mulâtre, riche, voyager. Tinne, 13. *Journal*. (Distinguished woman wishes to meet a rich negro or mulatto man for travel. Tinne, 13. *Journal*.)[158]

Carrington further explains in his bibliography that "an English literary gentleman, spending a holiday on the Riviera" wrote to the lady, described himself as a black man, and received three letters in reply. Whether or not there was really an exchange of letters, he transcribes her three letters, translated from the French, along with her name (Elise Margotin) and fictional phallic address in Paris (135, rue des Pendules). These letters are much more licentious than the openly-published novel, as the following excerpt shows:

> If you only knew how I long to see you, to know if I shall please you, and if you will please me, for everything depends upon the feelings we shall have at our first meeting. And yet I have such a great yearning to belong to you, that if it is not with you it will have to be with some other. Do not amuse yourself therefore in making me wait too long. You ask me how we shall meet? I only desire that you shall open your black arms, ready to receive me, and press me to you. Tell me the day and the hour that you expect me, and I will come at once, thrilling all over with emotion, and throw myself in your embrace. I have offered myself to you and I have promised you that I will abandon myself to you, you in me. I promise it to you once more. I want to be yours, and I wish you to make me learn what happiness means beneath those fiery kisses to which you allude. Come then, and take possession of my body. Press me in your dusky embrace and satiate your passions, your desire, your lust, in my white body. I want to give myself up to you, like a little baby confided to your care, so much will I let myself be petted. I will really love you.[159]

These letters show how Carrington did not undertake a bibliography of forbidden books in a strictly literal sense: he used it to develop the exoticist fantasies that interested him and that developed around his trade in Paris editions.

As Carrington faced more legal troubles, his bibliographic musings turned into griping against his colleagues and disaffected paranoia about French and British authorities. In 1902, the same year he took on the role of an "old bibliophile" in *Forbidden Books,* he also took on the more confrontational role of "Judex" in *De Quelques condamnations littéraires.* Most likely written by Carrington, it is a book-length compilation that extended his one-day trial in July 1899 into a one-hundred-page defense of his publishing business and exposure of the collusion between Senator Bérenger and The National Vigilance Association. It includes excerpts from French newspapers condemning British interference in the French justice system as a kind of moral exportation and internationalization of repression by "les Pères la Pudeur de Londres."[160] In 1904, he appended an essay on "The Tribulations of a Bookseller" to one of his Paris editions in which he again defended his books. At the same time, he was obsessed with the various conspiracies and plots against his business:

> However elegant the "get-up" of my publications, and however absorbing may be their contents, the English book press is evidently deter-

> mined to recognise me not. I am outside their jurisdiction. I do not give big advertisements, and, if I offered them, they might not be accepted, so that it may be surmised they have in consequence decided to leave me severely alone and wipe me out by a conspiracy of silence. Evidently they have never forgiven me for having issued complete English translations of Brantome's *Vies des dames galantes; Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles* (Louis XI.); Barbey d'Aurevilly's *Weird Women;* and Dr. Cabanès' *Le Cabinet secret de l'histoire.* But these works were issued only in limited numbers to private subscribers, and at no time were offered to people in an indiscriminate manner. They were printed and offered to bibliophiles under my sole responsibility.[161]

This was not the first time he railed about being ignored. Already early in his career, he responded angrily to negative reviews and complained bitterly about the "shout" of "ominous Silence" surrounding his publications.[162]

His griping continued in a 111-page foreword he wrote for his new translation of *The Perfumed Garden* (1907). While reviewing the complicated bibliography of the Arabic classic that passed through the hands of almost every underground dealer in Europe, he complained about the fraudulent activities of other publishers. First, he describes a Soho edition, later pirated by a Dutchman (likely referring to editions by Edward Avery in London and August Brancart in Amsterdam):

> One day the Dutchman went to London and wished to buy of his Soho *confrere* a dozen copies of the English edition. Owing to some account still being unsettled or outstanding, the Soho man refused to supply, and was 'cheeky' into the bargain. Whereupon the enterprising descendant of Admiral Van Tromp slung off in great dudgeon, procured a copy at high price through an outsider, hied him speedily back to Amsterdam, and straightaway brought out *his* version, with a great many added errors, as he was the sort of man who did not deem a proof-reader necessary for a mere English book; the more the faults of letter-press the greater the value and mystery. In books printed "under the rose" amateurs expected mistakes. These were proof of their clandestine origin, attestation of the obscenity of their contents.[163]

Carrington then discusses a Paris edition by a dealer who had fled London to avoid prison (this time referring to H. S. Nichols, who was based in London before absconding to Paris):

> About the end of 1900 an English bookseller (who was, as I have always in fairness protested—although he wrought me great and grievous wrong—most unrighteously prosecuted by the London Police, for launching a reprint of a book, "The Laws of Female Beauty,") fled for refuge to Paris in order to escape certain condemnation. This work, originally issued in 1822, was practically harmless in itself, and would have passed unnoticed but for the thrice-stupid and senseless interference of the authorities. Well, this high-minded and ingenious gentleman came to Paris, and amongst other exploits was minded in an evil hour to bring out an edition of "The Perfumed Garden," presumably and as events subsequently proved, to "raise the wind."[164]

This book-length foreword offers a fascinating glimpse into Carrington's relationship with other pornographic dealers, but it also shows the petty and mundane side of his business and the hardships of being targeted by French and British authorities. The petty and mundane, however, were also facets of his expatriate internationalism that assembled Britain's social and cultural expulsions.

While Carrington is known to scholars of bibliography, particularly clandestine bibliography, he is virtually unknown outside these small circles. But he had a brilliant idea when he recognized "the great liberty permitted in France for all that is soberly discussed in book-form."[165] He exploited the freedom of the press for his own profit, certainly, but he also opened up an expatriate literary space that let pass a flux of cultural and social outcasts from Britain especially, but also other nations. He may have been an eccentric, small-time publisher, who unfortunately had odious social views about women and race, but even minor personalities turn history. Carrington himself had a sense of his impact, though he expressed it in strange ways. "I would rather be a murderer than a Cabinet minister," he wrote, "if I wanted my name to go down to posterity." He also believed that "the name of some scrofulous scribbler, who dared to discuss the effects of vice and passion on his fellow-men" would long outlive others.[166] His Paris editions were his cultural legacy: they exposed the pornography of British literary culture, decimating literary taxonomies and proprieties while giving voice to pariahs and highlighting the sex and violence in the news, in the colonies, in the classics, in scientific literature in both exciting and appalling ways. My contention is, finally, that he was the reason why books like *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928), *The Tropic of Cancer* (1934), and *Lolita* (1955) became Paris editions.[167] It was he

who exploited the conditions that gave rise to a foreign publishing paradise that eventually supported many different transnational literary networks and pathways in Paris; and it was he who embodied the model of the expatriate publisher for later entrepreneurs like Sylvia Beach, Jack Kahane, and Maurice Girodias who followed. Carrington's impact on two generations of expatriate publishing in Paris has been overlooked, but in effect it developed in the foreign key of his "riez et le monde rit avec vous."

CHAPTER 5

PARIS EDITIONS FROM CHARLES HIRSCH TO MAURICE GIRODIAS, CIRCA 1900–1960

The English sex book in Paris was bigger than its expatriate creator, Charles Carrington. His rivals and contemporaries, his immediate successors, and other small independent publishers published Paris editions from the turn of the century through to the 1960s. Although some of these publishers have been studied, this publishing history has been habitually compartmentalized. James Nelson and Peter Mendes have studied the intersection of pornographic and Decadent publishing circles in London and Paris in the 1890s. Hugh Ford has looked at the small Paris presses publishing cutting-edge Anglo-American modernist works in the 1920s. Neil Pearson has compiled a bibliography of Jack Kahane's Paris-based business in "dirty books" from the 1930s, and Patrick Kearney has done the same for Kahane's son, Maurice Girodias and his Olympia Press.[1] No one has considered the overlapping publishing and distribution networks that connected these publishers over a seventy-year period.

There are a number of reasons why these connections have not

been drawn and why they have not been traced back to Carrington's business in Paris editions. The secret nature of their dealings, the involvement of expatriates and foreigners, the outlying production, moral squeamishness about the pornographic material, and the cataclysmic effects of the two world wars have obscured the links among these publishers and the possibility that their lives and work were part of a larger expatriate experience. Perhaps more importantly, though, the producers and consumers of these books did not position themselves as part of a larger cultural formation that relied on material and social infrastructures built up during Carrington's time. Historical nearsightedness is not to blame for missing the connections, but rather, the lack of a discourse for a publishing phenomenon whose cultural vitality was not consistently translated into historical consciousness, and whose influence was even actively and repeatedly thwarted.

The historiography of the expatriate moment in Paris is another significant factor behind these missed connections. The Paris moment has largely been seen as an American cultural migration of the 1920s, in part because it was memorialized so widely by many of the expatriate writers of the time in their fiction, journalism, and memoirs. Brent Hayes Edwards importantly expands this history to explore black diasporic gatherings in interwar Paris.[2] Brooke L. Blower also writes compellingly about the ways in which Paris remained a base for American internationalism for figures like John Dos Passos, Ernest Hemingway, and Langston Hughes well beyond the 1920s. She focuses on the other buried history of expatriation that saw Paris remain "an entrepôt of causes and connections" after the hedonistic 1920s.[3] An extended look at expatriate publishing in Paris, I contend, challenges the constricted timeline and American soul of expatriate literary culture Paris even further, while still acknowledging the difficulty of undertaking a history of such a diverse group of people, career trajectories, political and social agendas, and forms of internationalism that converged in the city.

The challenge of historicizing and conceptualizing expatriate Paris, and seeing how Paris editions were part of this history, is answered to some extent by the work of Raymond Williams on "paranational" (or "extranational") cultural formations. Such formations, he notes, developed alongside a growing market in the arts and European imperial structures. They have a metropolitan base, attract immigrant groups, include members distanced from their received social and national contexts, and harbor dissident

tendencies. Edward Said, drawing on Williams's work, argues that such extranational cultural formations highlight the "interdependent histories" and "overlapping domains" of those moving between exiles and cultures.[4] Together, these scholars offer a theoretical framework for understanding the expatriate experience in Paris as not just a localized moment, but as a collection of discrepant moments involving many actors and groups who were part of a wider and more general pattern of cultural migration and haven flow. Their insights prompt me to look at the Anglo-American roots and routes of Paris editions in the City of Light as a cultural map of an extranational formation.

If we consider the pornographer's paradise that grew up in Paris as part of a larger extranational cultural formation, Bruno Latour and Michel Lacroix provide specific methods drawn from social network theory for analyzing its development, structure, and survival. Latour takes an apostate approach to the study of group networks by insisting on a "performative" definition. Groups are understood by looking at what they do, he writes: "groups are made to talk; anti-groups are mapped; new resources are fetched so as to make their boundaries more durable; and professionals with their highly specialized paraphernalia are mobilized." This performative definition is useful for studying the nebulous, inchoate literary networks that formed around Paris editions over the years because it assumes volatility and allows for discontinuity. Each actor "speaks" about the group in a different way, mediating and changing its shape and history with each iteration.[5]

By contrast, Lacroix's approach to studying literary groups is more material based. In applying social network theory to the study of these groups, he makes a case for tracing the concrete links among different actors. His method involves mapping connections, understanding the structure of a group and its circulation of resources, and following its evolution without a preset notion of the nature of their exchanges or investments. In order to make determinations about the centrality or marginality of different actors in a group, he describes how their connections can be measured in terms of frequency, density, force, multiplicity, and intermediacy.[6] Lacroix's methodology is useful for my purposes because it helps highlight the links among an extremely diverse group of people with different social, political, and cultural investments over a roughly seventy-year period. It also accounts for those people who intersected with those involved with Paris editions without being major players. The

paucity of hard data on some of these publishers and booksellers makes it hard to measure the "concrete" links between actors in the ways that Lacroix outlines. In some cases bibliographical evidence is the only way to map these connections and infer social and professional relationships. At other times, a simple fragment from an account book captures an encounter. Walter Benjamin, however, reminds us to consider even the random, flitting fragment as a basis for understanding the past, as a revelation of truth, suppressed, buried, minoritized.[7] Ultimately, Latour's performative definition of group formations and Lacroix's method for mapping literary connections, coupled with Benjamin's fragmentary historical materialism, help expose the material and social infrastructures of an expatriate publishing phenomenon that did not consistently articulate group consciousness or shared history. Further archival research on any of these publishers and booksellers would likely reveal more about their interactions, and more about their surprising connections with other French and transnational groups moving through Paris, and more about the particular political and social circumstances that led them to deal in foreign books and lead expatriate lives away from the comforts and protections of home and nation.

At least four overlapping publishing and distribution groups dealt in Paris editions from the 1890s to 1960: Charles Hirsch and "the rue de Rivoli trade," the Paris flagellantia dealers, Sylvia Beach's Shakespeare and Company, and finally Jack Kahane and his son Maurice Girodias. These different groups overlapped temporally and geographically in surprising convergences, collisions, and networks. They sometimes (variously and in combination) occupied the same places, knew the same people, ate at the same table, appeared in each other address books, used the same printers, reprinted the same books, used the same publishing formats, or advertised in the same magazines. Carrington's influence, whether direct or indirect, can be traced through all of these groups. Despite their connections, these dealers were differently positioned in the larger literary field, did not necessarily acknowledge or recognize their relationships with each other, and generally did not refer back to Carrington or his pornographic theory of culture. Perhaps it was just a case of different groups using the publishing infrastructures that were already in place in Paris; or perhaps Paris editions represented the success of a brand, but the failure of an idea. If Carrington's Paris sex books were the material expression of his expatriate internationalism, as I suggest in my last chapter, they were not necessarily recognized as such.

Yet his business in books from abroad was picked up again and again in networked activity by other expatriate groups who staged various kinds of outrage and dissidence from Paris. These connections call for us to recognize this publishing haven as central to one of Anglo-America's most significant extranational cultural formations.

Charles Hirsch and "the rue de Rivoli trade," circa 1900–1944?

By turn-of-the-century Paris, around the time that Charles Carrington was operating out of Faubourg Montmartre, on and around the rue de Rivoli, and in the heart of Paris's tourist district, there were a number of bookshops that dealt in English pornography. We might recall the 1903 memo by a British foreign office bureaucrat which reported that "there are probably more English than French books in the windows of the shops in the Rue de Rivoli, Rue Castiglione, and Palais Royale [*sic*]" targeting the "foreign tourist, for whose benefit the majority of the shops in the streets named evidently exist, and of whom by far the greater number belong to the Anglo-Saxon race."[8] The Decadent poet Ernest Dowson seems to have come to the same conclusion. In a cryptic letter he sent to his publisher Leonard Smithers in 1899 about possibly doing business together in Paris, he wrote, "Since I have seen the shops of the Palais Royal, any previous diffidences or alarms I felt have vanished."[9] Historically the galleries around the Palais Royal were crossways for books and prostitution, as memorably evoked by Honoré de Balzac in *Illusions perdues* (1837–43), his novel about literary Paris.[10] It was sometime in the late 1890s when less reputable shops dealing in English sex books began to open up in the area. The presence of Galignani at 224, rue de Rivoli, the first continental English bookshop, may have been the draw.[11] The extent to which the publishers and booksellers operating out of these bookshops worked with one another is uncertain, and their personal and professional connections were likely fluid and circumstantial, but they became known as the "rue de Rivoli trade" by British government officials and also by Carrington.[12] This appears to have been the other main expatriate publishing and distribution network that dealt in clandestine Paris editions around the same time as Carrington.

The Cosmos Librairie at the corner of 194, rue de Rivoli and 2, rue Saint-Roch, sold "rare and curious" books and was on the British warrants list in association with the name Duringe. Nothing is known about this person's background, not even a first name.

Just around the corner from this bookshop, at 214, rue de Rivoli, Charles Hirsch (c. 1861?–c. 1945?) opened up his shop sometime in the early 1900s. For over forty years he ran his business from this address and others in the same vicinity: 2, rue des Pyramides and 13 & 14, Galerie de Montpensier of the Palais Royal.[13] Some of the dealers who did business with Hirsch and Duringe from these bookshops were William Lazenby, the oft-imprisoned British publisher who corresponded with Duringe; Leonard Smithers, who had gone bankrupt in 1900, but carried on clandestine publishing with Parisian contacts; August Brancart, the Belgian publisher who had published English and French pornography out of Amsterdam and later collaborated with Duringe on books by Alphonse Momas (Le Nismois); and Elias Gaucher, a "fly-by-night" printer-publisher who dealt in reprints of books by Brancart, Hirsch, and Carrington, among others.[14] It is hard to say how central or peripheral Hirsch was in the Rivoli network as its members and parameters were sketchy at best. I situate Hirsch at the center of this network because he was the most visible member, had the longest career, and at various times reflected back on the pornographic book trade. Looking at his business more closely reveals a secretive network of publishers and booksellers whose trade was displaced from London to Paris after the British crackdown on London's West End dealers in the late 1890s.

Private correspondence from the bookseller Marc Loliée described Hirsch as "small—dark haired—small dark beard," and a letter from Carrington's successor Henri Michaux noted that he was working in Paris at the same time as Carrington. Charles Reginald Dawes, in his *Study of Erotic Literature in English* (1943), described him as "a charming old gentleman in Paris" and "great authority on Erotica" who, "having dealt with it more or less all his life," treated "his business seriously and intelligently."[15] Nothing is known about Hirsch's early years or why he initially left France for Britain. He surfaced in the late 1880s in London when he was in his late twenties and was the manager and later owner of a French bookshop on Coventry Street in Soho called the Librairie Parisienne. While established there he mingled with Decadent francophiles and book-buying prime ministers, skirted police raids and obscenity charges, oversaw the composition of a pornographic novel called *Teleny* that he attributed to Oscar Wilde, and published a handful of books in French and in English. From London he published "sous le manteau" the second edition of Paul Verlaine's incendiary poem

Les Femmes (1895),[16] and novels by the minor English author William Platt. Although these books were not legally obscene, reviewers for the British press denounced Platt's books for their indecency and thought that they would have been "far better left unpublished."[17] Over the dozen years Hirsch was based in Soho, dealing in French, queer, pornographic, and Decadent cultural streams, he came into contact with the local publishers and booksellers who operated in the same area, such as Smithers, H. S. Nichols (his short-term partner), Robson & Kerslake, William Lazenby, Edward Avery, and their continental associates like Brancart.

But how Hirsch came to be a publisher of Paris editions is part of the larger story of the British crackdown in the late 1890s that saw the exodus of the pornographic book trade from London to Paris and the emergence of the Rivoli trade. Hirsch may already have been a producer of Paris editions during his London years. No doubt he was selling Paris editions from his Soho bookshop and had preexisting connections with Parisian dealers. This evidence surfaced during his 1899 trial in London on obscenity charges when he testified (unconvincingly) about the pornographic English books that were found hidden in his shop: "As to the English books found in the cupboard, the defendant said that on November 15 he received a postcard from a bookseller in Paris offering to do business with him, and on November 16, while he was out, a parcel arrived containing the books afterwards seized by the police. He put them in the bottom of the cupboard to separate them from his own stock. He had not ordered them and did not mean to keep them. He did not deal in such books and had no intention of selling them to any one."[18] The titles of the English books in question were not named, but they could have been sent by a handful of dealers who were in Paris at the time: Carrington, or Duringe of Cosmos Librairie, or perhaps the Belgian publisher-printer Jean Jacobus Georgius Bergé, who dealt exclusively in reprints.[19] Hirsch's Paris connections help explain why he eventually relocated there after he was found guilty of selling obscene books in Britain and sentenced to nine months in prison with hard labor.[20]

From Paris, Hirsch continued his cross-border trade, publishing and selling pornography in both English and in French. Peter Mendes and Jean-Pierre Dutel have helped identify many of his publications, as well as those by other Rivoli dealers.[21] But unlike Carrington, Hirsch did not draw attention to his business and did not advertise in magazines as he published most of his books

clandestinely. One of the only sources of external information on him during his Paris years is a 1904 letter he wrote to the French Ministre de l'Intérieur in which he defends his edition of *Sonnets luxurieux de l'Aretin* (1904).[22] His Paris editions tended to be reprints of pornographic titles that he issued in small octavo formats sold for the standard one to two guineas. Some of them can be traced back to him because he used the same "Old Style Piece" typographical vignette of two storks on his title pages.[23] Mendes has established that in 1903, the same year I tracked Carrington's publishing activities in chapter 4, Hirsch published two clandestine Paris editions. The first was *The Initiation of Aurora Trill,* an original work about a London girl's sexual coming of age, and the second was *Memoirs of a Russian Ballet Girl,* a reprint title about dancers, flagellation, and high-Russian society by the prolific E.D. (Edmond Dumoulin).[24] Both would have been impossible to publish openly at the time, as the flagellation themes and obscenities of *Memoirs of a Russian Ballet Girl* show:

> That big arse was far from being deformed. It was indeed the biggest, the most beautiful, the most richly furnished, and the most silkily smooth and satin-like posterior I have ever seen. Any votary of such large, ample, opulent sterns, would have fallen into ecstasies in front of this wonder of rounded cruppers.
>
> . . . She asked us if we wished to know the cause of the abnormal development of her lower cheeks.[25]

Title-page information on both of these books published by Hirsch is false and purposely misleading (away from Paris), but other forms of bibliographical evidence reveal some clues about his connections with other dealers, the origins and configuration of the Rivoli network, its intersections with Carrington's business in Paris editions, and its role in a larger extranational cultural formation.

One important source of information, for example, is the catalogue called "A Short List of Amusing English Books" that was appended at the back of *The Initiation of Aurora Trill.* Although the book was published clandestinely, this catalogue included Hirsch's name and address, leading readers straight to his rue de Rivoli bookshop and the most pornographic English books in circulation at the time. The list included the following titillating titles: *The Amatory Adventures of a Surgeon; Child-love or Private Letters from Phyllis to Marie; Female Lust; Forbidden Fruit; More Forbidden Fruit; Green Girls; Gynecocracy; Lady Gay Spanker's Tales; The Lustful*

Turk; Memoirs of the Celebrated Fanny Hill; Justine; The Perfumed Garden; Pleasures of Cruelty; Randiana; Some Razzle-Dazzle; Realistic Pleasures; The Romance of Lust; The Romance of Chastisement; Memoirs of a Russian Ballet Girl; Sins of the Cities; Teleny; Thomas Buckle's Library; A Town Bull; and *Venus in India.*[26] The fact that most of these listed books were reprints of clandestine English titles that had been published and circulating in London through the 1880s and 1890s is a crucial bit of information about Hirsch's connections to London dealers. Most of the English books listed in Hirsch's catalogue were sourced from the Soho pornographers, suggesting that there was cultural traffic between the Soho and Rivoli networks, of presumably not just books, but also the residues of the production process as well as social and cultural ties.

Further bibliographical analysis of Hirsch's list based on Mendes's bibliography of clandestine fiction further reveals that these books that had originated in London were then reprinted in Paris by a number of different publishers. A few titles were published by Bergé in Paris and Rotterdam (e.g., *Gynecocracy, The Romance of Lust*);[27] a few others were published by Carrington (e.g., *Randiana, Venus in India*);[28] and most of them were issued by the Rivoli consortium that included the Paris-based printer Charles Renaudie along with the publisher-booksellers Smithers, Hirsch, and their "ami en commun" (friend in common) Duringe (e.g., *Green Girls, The Pleasures of Cruelty*).[29] The printer Renaudie also seems to have worked with all of these publishers at one point or another: for Carrington (*Randiana*), for Duringe-Smithers-Hirsch (*Green Girls*), and also possibly for Gaucher (*Sins of the Cities of the Plain*).[30] The precise nature of these connections is not clear, but Hirsch's catalogue indicates that all of these books were sold out of his Rivoli bookshop and had interlocking networks of production and distribution.

The bibliography of *Memoirs of a Russian Ballet Girl,* the other book Hirsch published in 1903, offers additional information about the Rivoli network and the cultural traffic between the Soho and Rivoli groups. The bibliography nevertheless presents a challenge because it is a maze of lies, reprints, and translations. The first edition of the book was in French and published by Brancart as *Mémoires d'une danseuse russe* (1892). Although published in Amsterdam, the title page creatively relocated the place of publication to "Paris, sous les galeries du Palais Royal." The second edition was a 1901 Paris edition by Carrington, translated into English from the French. He

creatively relocated the book's place of publication to "Monte Carlo, for private circulation only." The third edition was published by Hirsch from Paris in 1903, based on Carrington's English edition, but this time misleadingly relocated to London. A fourth edition came out a year later, this time back in French by Gaucher in Paris. It was a reprint of Brancart's original French edition, which pilfered Brancart's title-page vignette of a satyr kissing a woman, the same vignette that Brancart himself had filched from the Belgian pornographers Jean-Jules Gay and Henriette Doucé, who had been in operation in the 1880s. There was even a fifth edition published by Carrington, a translation into French from his earlier 1901 edition.[31] This pseudo-intercontinental bibliography of *Memoirs of a Russian Ballet Girl* points to rivalries in the pornographic book trade, but it also reveals the shared bibliographical ruses and geographical fictions that brought these publishers together around extranational publication. Although they are all ripping off each other's work, utterly disregarding any rights to intellectual property, they are also network building and creating a shared history through bibliographical citation. The material lies and geographical fictions that circulated suggest a certain historical consciousness and self-awareness among these publishers about being part of a larger cultural formation operating against Anglo-French cultural politics, and linked to the internationalization of pornography.

The creation of the Erotica Biblion Society of London and New York imprint suggests another instance of bibliographic citation and network building within the Rivoli group. This imprint appeared on a number of mediocre-quality reprints of English pornography published from Paris between 1898 and 1904 that usually sold for one guinea. Gaucher seems to have been behind this imprint, but possibly in league with Renaudie, Hirsch, Duringe, and even Lazenby from London.[32] These were books that Hirsch regularly stocked and which circulated in the Rivoli and Palais Royal bookshops up until the First World War, and even later. A catalogue of "Publications of the Erotica Biblion Society," which was issued in Paris sometime in 1902, lists reprints of fifty-five pornographic books in English, most of them first published by the Soho network (Lazenby, Avery, Brancart). The Erotica Biblion Society imprint was a reworking of the Erotika Biblion Society of Athens imprint that was first used by Smithers and H. S. Nichols in London from 1888 to about 1895 and then later revived by Smithers after his break with Nichols. The name came from the Comte de

Mirabeau's *Erotika Biblion,* a philosophical compilation on sexual "perversions" first published in 1783 with a fictitious Vatican imprint and reprinted by most of the major clandestine publishers in Europe.[33] Though the people behind the Erotica Biblion Society remained shadowy, the imprint managed to link French pornography, the Vatican banned book list, and clandestine Soho publishing in a referential chain that again highlighted the Anglo-French cultural ties and London-based roots of the Rivoli network.

Noticeably Carrington's business in Paris editions appears again and again in the context of the Rivoli trade. What was their relationship? Were they collaborators or rivals? Carrington likely met Hirsch, but he never made a record of their encounter. Carrington's involvement with the Soho dealers while he was in London is still a mystery. While in Paris, Carrington vehemently denied any "connection whatever with any other Firm either in Paris or London."[34] Like Hirsch, Carrington reprinted many clandestine English books first published by Avery, Brancart, and others, but his book catalogues looked very different than Hirsch's. Carrington's lists carried a more diverse range of material, from flagellation, sexology, to Oriental sex manuals; they featured more of his own publications; they had more exoticist and internationalist tendencies; and they drew on a different set of authors, illustrators, and printers unknown to Hirsch and company (such as Hector France or Jean de Villiot). Many of his books also did not circulate through the Rivoli network. It is possible that there was some collaboration between Carrington and Hirsch, as well as overlapping sources and contacts, but given Carrington's dominance in this period before his expulsion in 1907 as well as his insistence on his autonomy, I am inclined to think that he operated autonomously and the Rivoli network drew off of his business as it began to take off. Even so, they both came out of the same Anglo-French culture wars and continued to supply the anglophone world with its literary expulsions.

As Lacroix points out, it can be hard to discern exactly where or when one network begins and another ends. More important perhaps is that Hirsch bore witness to this Paris publishing phenomenon and the clandestine publishers, booksellers, and printers behind it. Hirsch was a consultant for the bibliography of forbidden books titled *L'Enfer de la Bibliothèque nationale* (1913) compiled by Guillaume Apollinaire, Fernand Fleuret, and Louis Perceau; according to Mendes, much of the information from the catalogue came from Hirsch.[35] The bibliography brought to light the different kinds of

books in France's *Enfer* collection up to around 1912, and included a surprising number of books in English. In fact, the inclusion of these titles in this bibliography first made me aware of the number of forbidden English titles being published in Paris. Many of these books were published by Carrington, Duringe, Gaucher, and the Erotica Biblion Society. A few sample entries follow

163. **Sheaves from an Old Escritoire.** — Printed for the Erotica Biblion Society of London and New-York, 1898.
1 volume. Petit roman anglais.
[Short English novel].

180. **The initiation of Aurora Trill**. — London, 1903.
1 volume in -18 (Printed by Chas. Hirsch, 214, rue de Rivoli, Paris).
Texte anglais.
A la fin, Catalogue des éditions anglaises de Hirsch. C'est le commencement d'une série dont la suite a été publiée par G . . . ch. (*Family Connexion,* etc.)
L'auteur est un habitant de la Nouvelle-Zélande, qui vendit ses manuscrits aux éditeurs cités, lors d'un voyage qu'il fit à Paris en 1903.
[At the end, catalogue of Hirsch's English editions. It is the beginning of a series of which the rest was published by G . . . ch. (*Family Connexion,* etc.)
The author is an inhabitant of New Zealand who, during a trip to Paris that he made in 1903, sold his manuscripts to the above-named publishers].

184. Social Studies of the Century. **Randiana**, or Excitable Tales. — Paris, Société des Bibliophiles for the Delectation of the Amorous and the Instruction of the Amateur in the Year of the Excitement of the Sexes. MDCCCXCVIII.
1 volume, in -8, 227 p. et 2ff. dont 1 pour la table. Papier vergé; publié d'abord par C.rr.ngt.n et refait par Mme R.b.rt.
[Laid paper; first published by C.rr.ngt.n and reprinted by Mrs. R.b.rt.].

817. **Yvonne**, *oder Die Abenteuer und Intriguen einer franzoesischen Erzieherin mit ihren Zoeglingen.* Eine wahre Geschichte Aus dem Franzoesischen uebersezt. — Paris-Berlin, 1900.
1 volume in -18 de 141 pages (Imprimé à Paris, chez R.n..d.., pour le compte de D.r.n.g.). Couverture non imprimé, papier bleu satiné.
Traduction allemande d'un petit roman français: *Yvette ou l'instructrice pervertie,* publiée par le même éditeur qui en donna aussi une traduction anglaise.[36]

[Printed in Paris, by R.n..d.., for the count of D.r.n.g. Unprinted cover, super-calendered blue paper. German translation of a short French novel: *Yvette ou l'instructrice pervertie,* published by the same publisher who also provided an English translation of it.]

The bibliography of *L'Enfer* provides some information about a number of Paris-based publishers, but misleading information and coded data in the bibliography conceals certain details and aspects of it. Hirsch and the compilers aimed to bring publishing activity surrounding Paris editions into historical recognition, but they also repeated some of the same esoteric practices of publishers and booksellers who dealt in these books. In so doing, they became bibliographical secret sharers of the imagined and clandestine networking building behind these Paris editions, ironically concealing this history even as they were bearing witness to it. They closed it off, leaving it in enfer (hell) in a sense, by not forcing a collision between the secret connections and new expatriate publishing networks. This was arguably one of many missed opportunities to document the larger history of Paris editions as a cultural formation.

Most of the publishers linked to the Rivoli network seem to have disappeared in the lead-up to the First World War. As Annie Stora-Lamarre shows, prewar moral conservativism in France led to a series of prosecutions for "outrages contres bonnes moeurs" (immorality) in Paris' highest court. Raids on Palais Royal bookshops in 1913 and 1914 saw some of the booksellers face fines and prison sentences. Lists of these seized books show many familiar Soho titles reprinted by Hirsch, Gaucher, Carrington, and the Erotica Biblion Society.[37] Smithers died in 1907, Brancart was expelled from France in 1909, and Duringe disappeared around the same time, but both Carrington and Gaucher continued to do business through the 1920s, and Hirsch had bookshops in the rue de Rivoli area up until the Second World War. He published a few more clandestine titles in French and English, including fine illustrated editions of *Fanny Hill* and *Gamiani* in the late 1920s and the important French translation of *Teleny* in 1934, to which he appended a bibliographical notice that reflected on the earlier days of the Soho and Rivoli networks. He also may have collaborated with Paris printer-publisher Maurice Duflou on reprints of some of these older titles.[38] These must have seemed quaintly Victorian by that time as very different kinds of English sex books were circulating in the rue de Rivoli and Palais Royal bookshops—flagellation porn, *Ulysses, Lady Chatterley's Lover,*

Tropic of Cancer.[39] But these juxtapositions spoke to the repeated collisions between expatriate publishing and distribution networks in the streets and galleries of Paris, and the overlapping networks behind these books from abroad, linking past to present, pornography and modernism, even after Hirsch had disappeared, dropped from the Paris post office directory in 1945 at a time when the name Hirsch appeared on far more sinister kinds of lists.[40]

Paris Flagellantia, 1907–1939

In the advertising pages of the Parisian magazine *Le Journal amusant*, another network of pornographers dealing in English books flashed into sight (fig. 5.1).[41] Alongside advertisements for nude photographs, virility pills, brothels, massages, and the like were ads for "curious and amusing" books in French and English. The publishers and booksellers behind these ads from the interwar period were different from those of the Rivoli network. Ads appeared for L. Chaubard's English Books, Legrand's Librairie Franco-Anglaise, la Librairie Vivienne, la Librairie des Curieux, la Librairie Artistique, Edition Parisienne, J. Fort's Collection Précieuse, and so forth. Almost all of the advertised titles point to flagellation and sadomasochistic themes and were priced between ten and twenty francs. Most of these publishers and booksellers were French, dealt in French books, and focused on the French book trade, so it is easy to overlook how their activity intersected with Paris's expatriate publishing networks, even though they picked up on the same flagellation themes. Comparative bibliography, however, exposes the concrete links connecting them and suggests the creative and commercial effects of Anglo-French encounters and interactions. Not only can the beginnings of some of these flagellantia publishers and booksellers be traced back to Carrington's expulsion from Paris in 1907, but their publications also intersected with emerging modernist literary networks. To a degree these publications can be described as Paris editions in French dress.

One of the regular advertisers in *Le Journal amusant* was H. Legrand of the Librairie Franco-Anglaise. It appears he got started as one of Carrington's Paris agents when Carrington was exiled in Brussels from late 1907 to 1912.[42] He was not alone, according to Peter Mendes; Madame Roberts and J. Dardaillon had opened up shop just a few doors down from Carrington's Faubourg Montmartre apartment-office. Through complicated bibliographical forensics, Mendes links these publishers who specialized in sadomasochistic



5.1. Advertisements for flagellation literature in *Le Journal amusant,* September 4, 1920.

and fetishistic productions to Carrington. Put simply, their openly published French works on flagellation (authored under the suggestively named, pseudo-English Aimé van Rod and James Lovebirch) were in the same print group as a series of clandestine English books on flagellation supplied to them by Carrington, such as *Our Fair Flagellants* (1908), Barbary Birchenough's *Rachel Rodskiss* (1909), and Lord Kidrodstock's *Stays and Gloves* (1909).[43] Moreover, when

Carrington returned to Paris just before the First World War, his catalogues carried many of the French titles that Legrand, Dardaillon, and other publishers issued, further suggesting the interconnected nature of their business activities.[44] Carrington continued running his varied business until his death. Legrand and Dardaillon went their own ways, continuing to specialize in fetish material for the French trade through the 1920s, while still working with some of Carrington's old printers.[45] Mendes's careful bibliographical research thus uncovers how Carrington's expulsion triggered the rise of the flagellantia publishers who not only linked their trade culturally to the "English vice" (via authors using names like Lovebirch), but also used some of the preexisting expatriate material and social infrastructures Carrington had in place.

Jean-Marie Fort was another Parisian publisher-bookseller of flagellation literature whose name appears in the ads of *Le Journal amusant* and whose business intersected with expatriate publishing networks, including some of Carrington's printers and illustrators. Active in Paris from 1907 to 1939, under a number of different imprints and from a number of different addresses, Fort published and sold to both French and English markets.[46] A list of books that were seized from his shop in 1913 reveal that he sold all kinds of Paris editions: recent flagellation titles like *Rachel Rodskiss and Our Fair Flagellants,* as well as a number of different titles that had been published by the rue de Rivoli network.[47] He also published books on flagellation linked to Carrington and expatriate publishing. In 1917, he issued a French edition of Carrington's antebellum whipping fantasy *Dolly Morton* under his high-end Collection des Orties Blanches imprint, using one of Carrington's printers (Bussière) and also one of his illustrators (Louis Malteste).[48] Fort is probably best known, however, for publishing the sadomasochistic novels of Pierre Mac Orlan (actually Pierre Dumarchey), such as *Miss* (1911), which Mac Orlan wrote in French but gave an English title and attributed to an English authoress, one Sadie Blackeyes, who tells her tale of corporal "chastisement." Fort's use of Carrington's printers and illustrators for these publications linked them to expatriate publishing networks, as did their translation into English by Librairie Drouin in the 1920s.[49] Whether Fort was involved in their translation is unknown, but he too dabbled in Paris editions, publishing under his Librairie Astra titles such as the *Memoirs of Casanova,* which caught the attention of the British government.[50] Fort's position at the carrefour of different expatriate publishing

and distribution networks is further suggested by a cryptic note found in the 1923–1929 account books of Sylvia Beach, the American expatriate famous for her publishing and bookselling career in Paris. Beach's note suggests that Fort may have distributed or, possibly even published, Frank Harris's multi-volume confessions *My Life and Loves* (1922–1927) through his Librairie Astra imprint.[51] We can only speculate as to the role he played in this book's publishing history, but Beach's note is evidence of the collisions between different expatriate literary networks and the potential for conflict, cross-fertilization, and convergence from such interactions in the continual remaking of this extranational cultural formation.

The publishers and booksellers who participated in this French flagellantia network and whose names appeared in *Le Journal amusant* also included Curio, Amateur-Biblio, Paris-Edition, Librairies Editions-Modernes, and Editions Kimbo. Others, such as Select Bibliothèque, which was linked to La Librairie Select at 127, Galerie de Valois of the Palais Royal, did not advertise in this magazine, but published and sold a series of cheap flagellation novels by Don Brennus Aléra for around five francs.[52] Their publishing activities were similar to those of other Paris editions described thus far; they reprinted some Carrington titles, generally issued a few books in English, used many of the same printers, and carried a very similar stock of books provided by an inexhaustible corps of authors with names like Blackeyes, Lovebirch, Birchisgood, and Kidrodstock. Various professional links among these dealers can be traced, whether they were shared printers, addresses, or ad venues such as *Le Journal amusant* and *Le Sourire.*[53] In fact, it was these ads that eventually caught the attention of the British government, who realized that a number of them were targeting a British market.

In late 1923 the British Post Office intercepted a letter from a customer in London, a "peculiar" traffic clerk who still lived with his parents, sent to a Paris dealer named Chaubard in response to his advertisements for "English Books" in the pages of *Le Journal amusant* and *Le Sourire.* The customer requested information about the pricing and availability of Chaubard's books, and listed titles for possible purchase. This list—which included earlier Paris editions, such as *Margot* and *The Birching Beauty* (1905) published by Carrington, and *Green Girls* (1898) published by the Rivoli network—not only showed that Chaubard was piggybacking off the French flagellantia trade, but also revealing its interconnection with expatriate publishing through distribution as well as production. The letter writer got

off with a warning, but this business instigated further government interference. Warrants were issued to stop any mail containing *Le Journal amusant;* foreign bookshops were prevented from selling either of the two magazines; and lists of "bad dealers" were drawn up which included not only Chaubard, but others in the fetish line like the frères Briffault and Fort. An internal Home Office report noted, "several adverts are in the English language—evidence enough that they are aimed at English-speaking customers." Although the British Home Office had pronounced that the First World War had all but "killed" Paris editions, they were having to deal with them once again.[54] What government censors did not realize is that they were dealing with a larger extranational cultural formation reliant on expatriate publishing and distribution networks.

The officials did not speak about the contents of any of these advertised works in *Le Journal amusant,* but they likely would not have argued for their literary merit. Flagellation pornography typically appeals to a limited audience. Its purpose is not aesthetic experimentation, but reliability to the genre, an anatomy of whipping scenes featuring "lovely limbs and body" and "all manner of instruments."[55] Such is a stock scene from the English version of Sadie Blackeyes's (Mac Orlan's) novel *Miss:*

> Flac! Flac! Flac! The characteristic noise of a naked bottom that is being slapped, rang in my ears and made me cry out "oh, la la" each time that the stiff and nervous hand of my teacher came violently into contact with the satin skin.
>
> I felt the burn in my fleshy parts, that I spread out in all its roundness, in spite of myself. The frantic dance that my bottom executed at each slap must have been a most amusing sight if I was to judge by the choking laughter of my playmates.[56]

Vladimir Nabokov seems to have had such works in mind when describing pornography as following "a crescendo line, with new variations, new combinations, new sexes, and a steady increase in the number of participants."[57] The appearance of these kinds of books next to James Joyce's modernist epic *Ulysses* (1922) thus would seem sacrilegious to some. But we might recall the British lists of banned French books from 1929 and 1930 discussed in chapter 2. On these very lists many of the titles circulating through the flagellantia network ended up alongside Paris editions of *Ulysses, Lady Chatterley's Lover,* and *The Well of Loneliness.* This juxtaposition

of titles is another example of their overlapping distribution, but it also points to the productive capability and new lines of expression that were possible through these distributive collisions and convergences. In fact, even before the Paris publication of *Ulysses* in 1922, Joyce was caught up in these intersecting expatriate networks of the Paris edition, and creatively incorporating them into *Ulysses,* which he began writing in 1914.

It is well documented that Joyce himself was familiar with flagellation pornography, and wrote a series of letters in this regard to his wife Nora. "Tonight I have an idea madder than usual," he wrote in September 1909, right around the time when there was an upsurge of flagellation pornography in Paris. "I feel I would like to be flogged by you. I would like to see your eyes blazing with anger."[58] In *Ulysses* itself there are also numerous references to the kinds of books that were circulating in Paris and appearing on the British banned book list. In *James Joyce and Sexuality,* Richard Brown tracks down some of the references to flagellation pornography, linking the repeated mention of James Lovebirch, to the obviously bogus name of the author of works in French like *Les Cinq Fessées de Suzette* (1910), which had been published by Carrington's agents. Brown also discovered flagellation pornography in Joyce's personal library, including four different books by Leopold von Sacher-Masoch as well as Carrington's French edition of *La Gynécocracie, ou La Domination de la Femme* (1902).[59] *La Gynécocracie,* a novel about a young man who is brought up under "petticoat-government" and made to wear women's clothes, is also a source text for the transgender flagellation scenes in *Ulysses*'s controversial "Circe" episode. While drawing on Brown's research, Allison Pease argues that Joyce incorporated this kind of literary counter-canon throughout *Ulysses* in ironic and defamiliarizing ways, thus elevating it from pornography to high art.[60] But I look at his use of this material in relation to expatriate publishing, specifically as forms of bibliographical citation and network building. Joyce's references go beyond branding the Paris flagellantia network simply as "bad dealers"; they speak to the kinds of creative and hermeneutic encounters that were happening among very different expatriate groups moving through Paris.

Take, for example, the passage in the "Wandering Rocks" episode of *Ulysses* in which Leopold Bloom finds himself browsing for books in a Dublin lending library. He comes upon a few different titles: Sacher von Masoch's *Tales of the Ghetto, The Awful Disclosures of*

Maria Monk, Aristotle's Masterpiece, James Lovebirch's *Fair Tyrants,* and *Sweets of Sin.* He reads some passages from *Sweets of Sin* in a masturbatory fervor before purchasing it from the onion-breathed, phlegmatic attendant for his wife Molly. Many of these books and their authors appear again at later points in *Ulysses.* James Lovebirch reappears as the wedding guest Mrs. Barbara Lovebirch (along with Miss Dorothy Canebrake) and later doubles as Bloom as the "prentice backhand" letter writer who makes overtures to a married woman.[61] Though Joyce is clearly drawing on books that were coming out of Paris, he is also playing with this publishing history freely. Lovebirch never actually wrote a book called *Fair Tyrants,* but *Our Fair Flagellants* was published by the same Parisian publishers and printers who were behind James Lovebirch's publications. No Barbara Lovebirch was ever invented by the flagellantia network, but a Barbary Birchenough was the author of one of their other titles, *Rachel Rodskiss.* Also, no book called *Sweets of Sin* of "inferior literary style" of a "pecaminous pornographical tendency" was ever published in Paris, but Carrington issued a Paris edition called *Sweet Seventeen* (1910) with the subtitle "The True Story of a Daughter's Awful Whipping and its Delightful if Direful Consequence," which recalls another book Bloom browsed in the Dublin bookshop, *The Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk* (1836).[62]

I agree with Stephen Watt that Joyce may not have read all of this flagellatory literature, but the English names and suggestive titles circulating in Paris must have struck him.[63] Perhaps he spotted a few books, or a catalogue, or an advertisement from Paris; in any case something propelled him to participate in the bibliographical humor and carry on the inside joke. In making up his own outrageous authors and titles that were based on the flagellation pornography coming out of Paris, Joyce became a producer of his own Paris editions, albeit in imaginary rather than material forms. By collecting the fragments of this literature and reassembling them as imaginary Paris editions, he also opened up a dialogue between Paris flagellantia and expatriate literary modernism. But in writing such a book that forced open this kind of dialogue, he soon found that he was among the ranks of those who could only be published in Paris.

Most of the books published by the flagellantia network have been forgotten in the annals of bibliographers. The bookseller Armand Coppens, in his little-known *Memoirs of an Erotic Bookseller*

(1969), cast his eye back upon the Paris fetish trade. He mentioned that Select Bibliothèque and Collection des Orties Blanches books were collectibles and grouped Aléra with other flagellation authors such as E.D., Van Rod, and Villiot—thus establishing a genealogy of fetish literature back to Carrington's Villiot.[64] His genealogy is interesting because it is not informed by a collector's mentality: Select Bibliothèque books were cheaply produced whereas Fort's Orties Blanches imprints were generally more expensive and richly illustrated. More recently, Roger Baines has taken a different tack and directed critical attention to the cultural work of one of the flagellation authors, namely Mac Orlan (i.e., Sadie Blackeyes). He focuses particularly on Mac Orlan's genre of "le fantastique social" (the social fantastic) through which he explores society's latent and suppressed social elements.[65] Although the literature might be mostly forgettable, it is important to consider the way in which the flagellantia dealers intersected with other expatriate publishing networks, finding different points of contact and dialogue between past and present in opposition to British and increasingly American culture, as well as to the Parisian police and the anti-vice campaign initiated by the Prefect Jean Chiappe.

Sylvia Beach's Shakespeare and Company, 1919–1941

One of the secrets of literary modernism is that Joyce's Paris publisher, Sylvia Beach, was one of the most important brokers of these overlapping expatriate publishing networks in Paris. She is famed for publishing Joyce's *Ulysses* in February 1922 out of her Left Bank English bookshop, Shakespeare and Company.[66] Her Anglo-American bookshop makes a brief appearance in Woody Allen's homage to the 1920s in *Midnight in Paris* (2011), and a historical plaque commemorates the site and its "great experiment."[67] Hugh Ford and others have positioned her edition of *Ulysses* as the first of a series of postwar books in English published in Paris.[68] But if we momentarily push to the background the oft-told publishing history of *Ulysses* and foreground Beach's other bookselling and distributing activities, we discover that she was behind more than one notorious Paris edition, and not all of them of the same caliber as *Ulysses*. This "funny little publisher," who saw herself as a bookseller, did business with the pornographers to help launch the Lost Generation. At the same time, as Shari Benstock shows,

her bookstore became "an important way station on the expatriate tour" (fig. 5.2) for Britons and Americans, while "negotiating the distance between the expatriate community and the resident Paris population."[69]

Beach's personal and business archives, which are located in Princeton University Library's Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, have made accessible to scholars her account books, address lists, book catalogues, and correspondence. Recollections about Americans in Paris during the 1920s, including her own memoirs *Shakespeare and Company* (1956), further supplement these records. From Benstock's *Women of the Left Bank,* to Noel Fitch Riley's biography *Sylvia Beach and the Lost Generation,* to Hugh Ford's *Published in Paris,* to Laure Murat's *Passage de l'Odéon: La Vie Littéraire à Paris,* to Keri Walsh's recent edition of *The Letters of Sylvia Beach,* scholars have had a substantial amount of material with which to work in order to reconstruct how she ran her business.[70] In Anglo-American circles, her bookshop has been typically characterized as an outpost for high literary modernism. This image began to be constructed even in her own time, in articles from *Publishers Weekly* for example:

> Miss Beach's bookshop is essentially a "character" store, the brown burlaped walls, the grotesque Chinese goldfish, the pair of brass scales (just as tho books were sold by the pound as they were in the olden days), and the feeling of old wool, homeliness, comfort, always clean without being shiny. But Sylvia Beach is the principal character. Here is a rendezvous for the writers of today and tomorrow, each an inspiration to the other. There is an air of seriousness and witty intelligence about the shop that attracts those lovers of literature who consider books in the light of living characters rather than plots that turn out happily or unhappily.[71]

Yet while Beach did business with the established publishers of the day (such as Lane, Heinemann, Hogarth, Collins, Macmillan, Routledge, Hachette, George Allen, Methuen, Clarendon, Oxford, Chapman & Hall, J. Cape, and Knopf), and the independent, expatriate publishers in Paris who followed her lead (Contact, Three Mountains, Black Sun), she also regularly dealt with the Paris-based publishers and booksellers of English pornography. Her records provide concrete proof of her connections with these dealers through her bookshop, giving us much more to go on than the bibliographical and distributive chain of evidence used to trace some



5.2. Sylvia Beach in the doorway of Shakespeare and Company, January 1920. Sylvia Beach Papers, Manuscripts Division, Princeton University Library.

of the earlier, more secretive Anglo-French networks behind Paris editions. As her literary reputation grew, she distanced herself from these kinds of associations, but during the 1920s and 1930s, she brokered and laundered many different kinds of expatriate literary transactions. To use Lacroix's term for measuring the different roles of actors within a network, she was a crucial "intermediary" figure whose foreign bookshop brought together queer, pornographic, modernist, and French literary networks around Paris editions.[72] This is a role that has been previously ascribed to her by Benstock and also by the French novelist André Chamson, who wrote, "Sylvia carried pollen like a bee. She cross-fertilized these writers. She did more to link England, the United States, Ireland, and France than four great ambassadors combined."[73] But she was more than just an intermediary between a transnational medley of writers, as she also participated actively, albeit fairly secretly, in the dynamics of production around many Paris editions, using the pornographic material and social infrastructures already in place.

It is worth looking at Beach's early years in Paris at the end of the First World War to speculate on how she might have formed some of the connections that would later be instrumental to her business. When describing in her memoirs the time she spent between 1916 and 1918 living at the Hotel Beaujolais near the Palais Royal in Paris, she made an interesting disclosure. "In spite of the theatre [Théatre du Palais-Royal] and one or two bookshops dealing mostly in erotica," she wrote, "the Palais Royal was at this time fairly respectable."[74] Her memoirs suggest that she knew about the city's pornographic book trade before she opened her bookshop. She did not mention the bookshops, but Select Bibliothèque was already installed in the Galerie de Valois, and Hirsch was nearby at 2, rue de Pyramides. Did she browse these shops around the Palais Royal, where the history of Paris editions collided in past and present? Did she speak with the clerks? Like Joyce, did she seek out sexual knowledge and works of sexual fantasy? Did she search for books that would explain her own sexual feelings?

During this same period, she also met Adrienne Monnier, a bookseller and publisher who ran La Maison des Amis des Livres and who became her mentor and life partner. Through Monnier, Beach gained access to French literary circles, including Guillaume Apollinaire and Paul Fort, who had connections with the pornographic book trade. Her relationship with Monnier might also have led them to the relevant literature on lesbianism, which would have

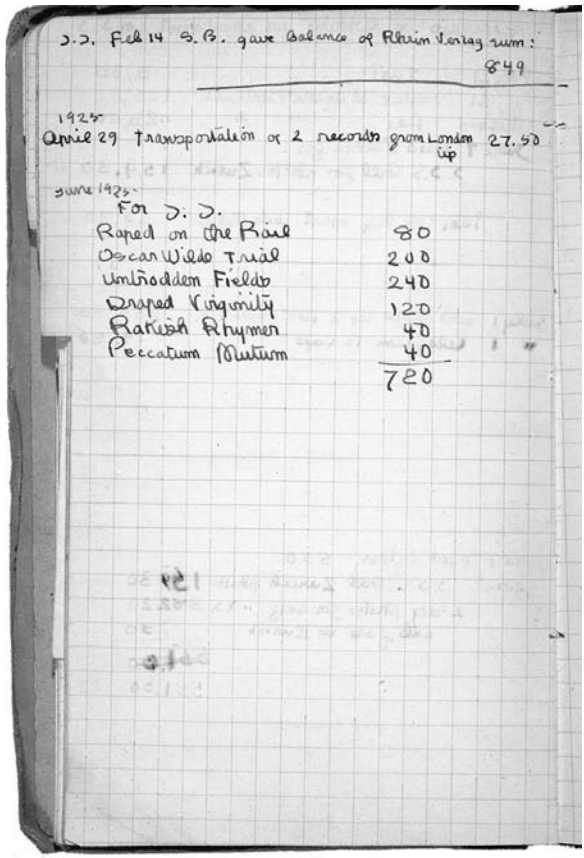
been available through the bookshops around the Palais Royal. In her biography of the British author Radclyffe Hall, whom Beach knew through Paris's lesbian and literary circles, Diana Souhami discusses how Hall not only read the German sexology on homosexuality, but also had her partner Lady Una Troubridge read aloud *Crossways of Sex: A Study in Eroto-Pathology* (1904), a Paris edition by Carrington on the same subject.[75] Did Beach and Monnier do the same, reading aloud from the Paris editions they could much more readily access? These bookish encounters and interactions during Beach's first few years in Paris in the vicinity of the Palais Royal were formative, as was her considerable international experience in Spain, France, and Serbia.[76] These early experiences also possibly developed into business ties when she started up her "character" English bookshop at the "crossways" of international social and cultural currents in Paris.

How exactly Beach formed her business relationships with Parisian pornographers is a matter for speculation, but her records confirm ties with a number of booksellers and publishers who dealt in English pornography, some of whose names are familiar by now, and some who were new to the business. These associations were formed in the first few years she was in business, adding new perspective to her account of how she built up her inventory with shipments from London and American suppliers, as well as "the well-stocked English secondhand bookstores in Paris."[77] Beach's initial plan was to set up a French bookshop in London, but circumstances and her relationship with Monnier directed her back to Paris to set up a foreign lending library and bookshop. Shakespeare and Company opened its doors on November 1919, first at 8, rue Dupuytren, and then later at 12, rue de l'Odéon. Monnier's French customers (Paul Valéry, André Gide, Valery Larbaud) and soon the Anglo-American literati (James Joyce, Ernest Hemingway, Gertrude Stein, Ezra Pound) gathered at the "bookhop" (an initial misspelling on her sign that she did not immediately correct) to visit "Mlle Shakespeare," borrow and buy books, and socialize with each other. A painted portrait of Shakespeare with an egg-shaped head and gold-chain necklace hung from an iron finger over the door, while photographs of Oscar Wilde in his glory days were among the first pictures she placed on her walls.[78] To place his pictures on her walls was a sign of her queer sexual politics and immediately positioned her bookshop as a refuge for queer expression and encounter. She had a wide selection of British and American classics from

Beowulf to Henry James, but Wilde's Decadent novel *The Picture of Dorian Gray* was her best-selling book the first few years she was in business. It also put her in contact with its publisher, the now blind and syphilitic Carrington. In addition to his Paris editions of *The Picture of Dorian Gray,* she sold his pirated edition of Wilde's *Salome* and his translated edition of Petronius' *Satyricon* spuriously attributed to Wilde.[79] Her promotion of Wilde's works, and all that he represented at the time, could have led her to Carrington's firm—that is, if she was not already familiar with it. Her dealings with his firm were not necessarily accidental or simply stemming from the fact that he owned the English copyright to *The Picture of Dorian Gray.*

Beach's account books show that her dealings with Carrington's firm went beyond purchasing his Paris editions of Wilde's works. There is a mysterious entry on November 23, 1921, that shows the purchase of a lending-library subscription to a Mr. Carrington.[80] This man could not have been the publisher because he died at the Maison de Santé d'Ivry the previous month, but he was possibly one of the clerks, Henry Michaux or Frank Groves, who continued running Carrington's business after his death. After Carrington died and his inventory was auctioned off at the Hotel Drouot, Michaux and Groves (as well as Hirsch) bought most of his books and copyrights.[81] By 1924 they opened their Librairie du Palais Royal at 9, rue Beaujolais, which was just below the French author Sidonie Gabrielle Colette's apartment, near Beach's old hotel-apartment, and close to La Librairie Select.[82] Groves and Michaux were mainly booksellers, though they reprinted a few Carrington editions and, as we will see, at least one banned modernist novel. It was from these men that Beach also purchased an astonishing list of books that was found buried in one of her address books from 1925 (fig. 5.3).[83]

The "J.J." mentioned on the list, of course, was James Joyce. Beach bought these books on his behalf, paying a colossal 720 francs for them. They were works of flagellation pornography, pseudoscience, and Wildeana. All of these books had been published in Paris by Carrington, and all but one of them appeared in the Carrington inventory purchased at auction by Groves and Michaux.[84] This list of books reveals how Beach supplied the cheeky reading habits of one of Britain's great modernist writers through her networking with Parisian pornographers. Joyce himself may have put her in contact with them, given how his own interest in such literature predated his relationship with Beach.[85] In any case, the kinds


J. J. Feb 14 S. B. gave balance of Obelisk Verlag sum:
849
1924
April 29 transportation of 2 records from London 27.50
June 1925
For J. J.
Raped on the Rail 80
Oscar Wilde Trial 200
Unthodden Fields 240
Draped Virginity 120
Ravish Rhymer 40
Peccatum Illustrum 40
720

of Paris editions circulating through Shakespeare and Company brought Carrington, Beach, and Joyce together in overlapping (if not shared) dissident cultural practice that linked past and present and pornography and modernism.

Beach received requests for pornographic material from other famous expatriates as well. The Briton Frank Harris, with whom she had extensive business dealings, asked her to find some "naughty" books for him, older titles that had circulated especially through the rue de Rivoli network. On November 7, 1924, he wrote, "I am pestered with enquiries from America to get some naughty French books in English entitled "The Way of a Man with a Maid", "Lovely night of a young girl", "Forbidden Fruit, and more forbidden Fruit". Do you think you could get them for me, or tell me where they can be obtained."[86] Over the years, Beach also received

5.3. Book purchases for James Joyce from Sylvia Beach's 1925 address book. Sylvia Beach Papers, Manuscripts Division, Princeton University Library.

letters from anglophone pockets of the world with requests for explicitly pornographic material alongside copies of *Ulysses.* One customer from India wrote on June 22, 1923, "A few weeks ago your firm was mentioned in the "Pink 'Un" as able to supply books not usually stocked by the ordinary publishers. I should be glad to have a list, or your catalogue, of any exciting books you sell." Another customer from Sorrento in the Seychelles contacted Beach more than once with similar requests, each time looking for "interesting" titles. On October 17, 1935, he wrote, "Some time back soon after I had F. Harris' 'My Life' &c from you you gave me a list of several amusing and interesting books. I was unable, at the time, to order any as I had incurred the suspicions of a very puritanical Chief of police who had found out that I had a copy of 'Ulysses.' Fortunately for me I had lent it to the Governor who had read it and found it very interesting and he put his foot on the policeman heavily!" On January 22, 1936, Beach received another letter from the same customer, "Please let me know if you can supply a copy of 'The Well of Loneliness.' Also let me have a list of any other 'suppressed' or otherwise interesting books. You sent me particulars of some when I was living in Rhodesia but circumstances were a trifle unsafe there at the time! Could you put me in touch with some house which could supply me with a couple of dozen studies of nude Male figures? Photographs that is, from life?"[87] It is not known if Beach met these requests, but it is clear that that she managed different haven flows through her Paris bookshop that sometimes saw her role as intermediary blur into book laundering. Her respectability legitimated all requests.

Beach's role as intermediary between these different expatriate networks in Paris pivoted in several directions. She did not simply purchase English pornography from the Parisian dealers; she supplied them, along with a variety of other customers, with banned books to which she had almost exclusive distribution rights in Paris. Her records show that she was not just a handler of the occasional "naughty" book; she was involved in the dynamics of production. In addition to *Ulysses,* she was the main supplier of Havelock Ellis's six volumes of *Studies in the Psychology of Sex,* Harris's multi-volume confessions *My Life and Loves* and his biography titled *The Life of Oscar Wilde,* Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover,* Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness,* and later Henry Miller's *Tropics* books. She supplied these books regularly to the foreign booksellers in Paris, some of whom did their core business in the pornographic book

trade, like Groves and Michaux's Librairie du Palais Royal and Jean Fort's Librairie Astra.[88] Beach was a notoriously bad record keeper, but her account books nonetheless give us a picture of how she distributed these books secretly through Shakespeare and Company.

Her daily sales for April 24, 1924, are a good example. This was two years after the publication of the first Paris edition of *Ulysses* and the year she issued a less expensive second Paris edition.[89] In one account book, she records the sale of contemporary novels, a few classics, and lending-library subscriptions; and she tabulates the day's earnings at 297 francs. This was a good day, as some days she had to be content with the sale of a few Tauchnitz editions, which could go for as little as 4 francs each. In another booklet, however, she kept a separate set of figures. In this booklet her entry for the same day not only has a separate column for the sale of magazines and other incidentals, but also a separate section at the bottom that shows her clandestine sales of the second edition of *Ulysses* and first volume of *My Life and Loves* to private clients and Parisian dealers. These sales, like those for the incidentals, were not included in her daily intake, though she was clearly making a killing from these books, more than doubling her regular sales for that day and charging considerably more for her "curious" books than either Carrington or the flagellantia dealers had. In other entries, sales for Paris editions of *Fanny Hill* and *Casanova* would also sometimes slip in.[90] Michael Reynolds has noted that Beach was "unashamedly selling erotic books to any who asked for them, and these sales, not always reported to the French tax man, contributed significantly to her economic survival."[91] That she did so "unashamedly" is not quite accurate. Her record keeping changed over the years, but she generally kept these sales under the table.

Beach's correspondence with some of the authors of the banned books she distributed from her bookshop, moreover, suggests that the line between distribution and publication was fluid. Her distribution of Harris's multivolume sexual confessions is a good example of how her business activities complicated Robert Darnton's neat model of the distinct roles occupied in the book's communications circuit.[92] As early as 1923, she started selling the first volume of *My Life and Loves* (1922) from her bookshop. It was sexually explicit and unpublishable in Britain or America, the following passage characteristic of the entire work:

> The next moment I began caressing her red hot clitoris with my hot, stiff organ: Lorna sighed deeply once or twice and her eyes turned up;

> slowly I pushed my prick in to the full and drew it out again to the lips, then in again and I felt her warm love-juice gush as she drew up to her knees even higher to let me further in: "Oh, it's divine" she sighed, "better even than the first time", and when my thrusts grew quick and hard as the orgasm shook me, she writhed down on my prick as I withdrew, as if she would hold it, and as my seed spirited into her, she bit my shoulder and held her legs tight as if to keep my sex in her.[93]

Beach received regular shipments of this volume from Harris, noting the receipt on one day of fifty books in a wooden box.[94] She received 40 percent of the sales and remitted Harris the remaining 60 percent. Harris corresponded regularly about finding a publisher for his manuscript, which he had "privately published," but she resisted his not-so-subtle pressure. His letters to her, however, suggest that she may have been trying to locate a publisher for him. In one letter from October 14, 1923, he wrote, "If I sell the MSS to your man, you shall have at least the usual ten percent." One wonders, though, why she would bother, one given the lucrative 40 percent deal she already had in place. A few months later, he asked Beach if she had a chance to talk to "some rich American" about buying his manuscript. Apparently she had not, as she began distributing volume 2 of his confessions in 1925, and receiving 50 percent of the cut. Around the time that relations between Beach and Harris started to sour, possibly on account of the charges he faced in Nice in 1926 over the second volume. He also asked her to be a go-between with a publisher-bookseller called Reginald A. Caton in London, a man for whom he said he had "no respect." Harris wanted her to receive a shipment of seventy-five of his books for R. A. Caton to pick up and pay for at her bookshop and somehow smuggle back to Britain. Her dealings with Caton remain murky, but nonetheless confirm the role she played, or was asked to play, in Paris's pornographic publishing and distribution networks. Caton was a sleeping partner of Groves and Michaux's Librairie du Palais Royal (by then technically Groves and Leonard), and he reprinted a number of Carrington's editions through his Fortune Press, including the translation of Pierre Louÿs's lesbian-themed novel *Aphrodite* (1928), which Beach kept in stock.[95] In short, although Beach declined publishing Harris's memoirs, she effectively became his proxy publisher. She had all the benefits of being a publisher, without the overhead and without the risk. Her distribution of Harris's volumes could be seen as a form of ad-hoc publication, making her not only an intermediary, but also a participant in the dynamics of production.

Beach's dealings with Lawrence vis-à-vis *Lady Chatterley's Lover* give a somewhat clearer picture of her role as proxy publisher for Harris and others. Lawrence's novel about the adulterous, cross-class love affair between Lady Chatterley and her working-class gamekeeper Mellors was famously first published in Florence in 1928 by Giuseppe (Pino) Orioli in a limited edition of one thousand copies, followed by a less-expensive second edition of two hundred copies.[96] The novel is revolutionary in tone, equating a class revolution with a sexual revolution, but its overt political content did not stop Parisian pornographers from pirating the book. Almost immediately after publication unauthorized copies were circulating in most of the English bookshops in the city while the author received no remuneration. Lawrence could not stop the pirating pornographers because the book's obscenity prevented him from securing copyright. He spoke out against them in his essay "A Propos of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*," but oddly revealed such material fetishism over these cheap, facetious piracies that he helped spawn a bibliophilic industry around them.[97] In late 1928 he approached Beach, in an effort to combat these pirates and gain some control over its runaway distribution, as "the Castiglione people" were asking a ridiculous five thousand francs for the first edition, while he and Orioli were asking for seven hundred (still hugely expensive). Although Beach had already been selling Orioli's first and second editions from her bookshop, Lawrence showed interest in establishing a more collaborative arrangement, as revealed in a series of letters written to her over the winter of 1928–1929:

> I shall have to try the Pegasus people, to put on the market a regular edition at about 100 or 120 francs. I know nothing about them, though. Still, I'm sure it would be a paying thing, and I want the book to be sold, I want the public to get it, and not too dear either.
>
> *
>
> I wrote to the manager of the Pegasus Press, but have no answer yet. There is hardly time, I would rather have dealt with someone I know. I suppose you are too busy to take charge of the French edition for me, if I pay the costs of production? You know all the ropes and everything, and I should feel more sure. But of course you may have too much on hand.
>
> *
>
> I asked you if you would attend to the issuing and distributing of a Paris edition, if I paid for the production. As you did not answer, I concluded you had no inclination to do so, but in case you did not get

> my letter, I repeat what I said there. I should like to bring out an edition of 3000 or so, printed in France, preferably by the photographic process "offset." The production would be at my charge, but I do want a reliable bookseller or publisher. . . . If you don't want to be bothered handling the book, I shall understand perfectly.[98]

Lawrence, like Harris, hoped that Beach would become the book's quasi-publisher, if not more. This was, in fact, the same role that Orioli played for Lawrence, though he has come to be seen as the publisher of the first Florentine edition. In correspondence with Beach, he wrote in broken English, "I am not the publisher of Mr Lawrence's book. I am only alowing [*sic*] to him to use my name and address for his convenience. He is his own publisher and is making his own terms with which I have nothing to do."[99] Beach made a note in her files: "Jan 14 wrote to D.H.L couldn't publish Lady C." Later in her memoirs, she explained that she "didn't admire the work," though she regretted that it, liked other unprotected "exiled books," was being exploited by pirates.[100] Although she never agreed to Lawrence's terms, their exchange not only reveals the kind of arrangement she essentially had with Harris, but also her behind-the-scenes involvement with the publishing and distribution of more than one Paris edition and her crucial intermediary role in bringing different expatriate groups together around this publishing phenomenon.

Beach was also the person who helped Lawrence find a bona fide publisher in Paris. Initially after being turned down by Beach, Lawrence contemplated entering an arrangement with one of the Parisian pirate-pornographers. It was Groves & Michaux, Carrington's successors in the Palais Royal, whose involvement in the unauthorized Paris edition of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* reveals yet again the interconnected publishing histories of pornography and modernism. In a letter to Orioli on March 18, 1929, Lawrence wrote:

> I haven't done any more about a cheap edition—it seems so difficult. But the man Groves, of Groves & Michaux, the Librairie du Palais Royal, is apparently responsible for putting on the market the European pirated edition, printed in Germany—which Galignani is selling at 300 frs and Castiglione at 400frs.—they get it from Groves at 100 frs. a copy. But Groves has burnt his fingers—the Amer. booksellers sell the Amer. pirated edition, and the others won't properly sell the 'printed in Germany' one: Sylvia Beach won't touch it. So now he wants me to *authorise* his edition—print a little slip in front authorising it—and he

will give me 20% on the whole edition of 1500, on the selling price of 100 francs a copy to the trade. I am almost inclined to do this.

. . . Tell me what you think about Groves—it seems rather bad, taking up with a pirate. But they are *all* pirates.[101]

Beach may not have sold Groves and Michaux's copies of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, but this reserve certainly did not stop her from continuing to do business with them. Nor did it stop her from helping Lawrence. She put him in touch with the expatriate Edward W. Titus, who had a small publishing firm and ended up publishing the first authorized Paris edition of his book in 1929. She then became an important supplier of Titus's edition, selling it to the dealers for sixty francs.[102]

Beach was less involved with the Paris publication of Hall's *The Well of Loneliness*, but again she was implicated in the dynamics of its Paris publication. The 1928 publication of Hall's semiautobiographical novel about a transgendered woman's coming of age was immediately controversial in Britain and triggered a sensational obscenity trial, which its publisher eventually lost.[103] Amidst the media coverage and the legal trouble, its British publisher Jonathan Cape went into partnership with Pegasus Press in Paris (the same press with which Lawrence had dealings) and produced a Paris edition.[104] Beach sold the Pegasus editions from her bookshop for 150 francs and supplied them to the lesbian literary and social networks of which she was a part, even making a note in her account books of selling a copy to Natalie Clifford Barney, an American woman who hosted a literary salon in Paris "where lesbian assignations and appointments with academics could coexist in a kind of cheerful, cross-pollinating, cognitive dissonance."[105] When Barney hosted a celebratory party for Hall at her Temple of Love on rue Jacob, Beach was in attendance. Unable to supply copies of the book at the party for purchase and signing, because they had sold out, she nonetheless promised to bring more at the next printing.[106] How much influence did she have over Pegasus's production of the book, over the printing schedule and other the print runs, one wonders? Could she arrange a reprinting?

Given the ways in which the boundaries between distributing and publishing were blurred in Beach's case, we need to adjust the usual narrative that her only forays into publishing were linked to Joyce. *Ulysses* and some of Joyce's other work may have been the only Paris editions that bore the official Shakespeare and Company imprint, but her virtual imprint was on the other banned books that

she supplied to dealers from her bookshop. Knowing how she funneled different literary products through pornographic channels also takes recent discussions about *Ulysses*'s publishing history a few steps further. In *Institutions of Modernism,* Lawrence Rainey has argued that Beach's publication of *Ulysses* as an expensive limited edition available only through private subscription helped merge aesthetic value with rarefied production. Working with the printer Maurice Darntière from Dijon, Beach limited the edition to one thousand copies, which she advertised in three formats: 150 copies on Dutch paper at 350 francs, 150 copies on vergé d'Arches at 250 francs, and 750 copies on normal paper at 150 francs.[107] George Bernard Shaw's complaint about the price when Beach solicited his subscription is an ironic confirmation of Rainey's point. "You are probably . . . a young barbarian," Shaw wrote to Beach, "beglamoured by the excitements and enthusiasms that art stirs up in passionate material."[108] While picking up on Rainey's focus on the use of subscription lists and expensive limited editions in the publication of *Ulysses,* Rachel Potter has further observed that these modes of publication and distribution were those also used by publishers of pornography. Beach's Paris edition of *Ulysses* did not simply suggest aesthetic value and appeal to speculative passion, Potter argues, but also pornography and "freedom of speech."[109] Both Rainey and Potter are right and importantly situate the reception of *Ulysses* within the social and cultural dynamics of Anglo-French literary production. What I am suggesting, though, is that *Ulysses* is just one chapter in a much longer publishing history. Not only did Beach's connections with Parisian pornographers introduce her to modes for publishing and distributing her Paris edition of *Ulysses,* but she also continued to develop and change these modes, with her second Paris edition of *Ulysses,* which she supplied directly to the Paris dealers rather than through subscription, and also in her complicated roles as intermediary and proxy publisher for converging expatriate networks in Paris.

In her "self-censored" memoirs *Shakespeare and Company,* Beach referred to her "regrets" about *Ulysses*'s associations with pornography.[110] She was infuriated about the "rape of *Ulysses*" in America by the "young N.Y. Jew" Samuel Roth, who excerpted passages in his magazine *Two Worlds Monthly* between 1925 and 1927. "It was saddening," she also wrote, that Joyce's book was "listed in catalogues of erotica alongside *Fanny Hill, The Perfumed Garden,* and that everlasting Casanova, not to speak of plain pornography like *Raped on*

the Rail."[111] Her record books, however, reveal this statement to be disingenuous. She sold these books through her shop, purchased them for clients like Joyce, and did business with the dealers behind them up until the Nazi occupation forced her to close her doors in 1941. By distancing herself from these books, which she bought and sold, she was not being deceitful, but rather engaging in the cultural work of modernism. Both Pease and Potter discuss the ways in which modernist writers tried to push apart the categories of obscenity and pornography in order to accommodate explicit descriptions of sex: while obscenity became associated with art, pornography became associated with debased commercial production. The same recalibration occurs in Lawrence's histrionic essay "Pornography and Obscenity" (1929). The sullied realities of publishing and distributing could therefore be overlooked while arguments about aesthetics and "arsethetics" unfolded.[112] Beach herself contributed to the myth of *Ulysses*'s virgin birth by a spinster bookseller known as Mlle Shakespeare, undertelling the publishing history that lay in her record books of the Company she kept, the motley crew of expatriate dissenters and outcasts who gathered around her books from abroad.

Jack Kahane and Maurice Girodias, 1929–1939, 1945–1966

An expatriate British publisher named Jack Kahane was among the company Sylvia Beach kept in Paris. Beach remembered him with fondness in her memoirs: "Mr. Kahane used to drive up in his convertible Voisin, a sort of glass-enclosed station wagon, for a chat with his colleague at Shakespeare and Company. He would ask, 'How's God?' (meaning Joyce). He admired me to 'no end' for my discovery of such an 'obscene' book, as he termed it, as *Ulysses,* and never relinquished the hope of persuading me one day to let the Obelisk Press take it over."[113]

The Obelisk Press was the small English publishing firm Kahane set up in Paris in 1931 that specialized in banned English sex books and extended the expatriate publishing networks through the 1930s. After the Second World War, his son Maurice Girodias continued in the family business and established his own firm, the famous Olympia Press, which we first met in chapter 2 as one of the firms under surveillance by the British government. Girodias inherited his father's list and also shared his father's publishing model of mixing more ambitious and experimental works of genuine literary merit with cheap formulaic pornography. The American bad boy Henry

Miller, who spent the interwar years slumming in Paris, was the front-line talent they both shared, though Girodias expanded his father's list significantly. Together they were responsible for branding and politicizing Paris editions (and their vanguard publishers) as they had never so clearly been done before, consolidating the concept of a dissident publishing outpost. Yet in so doing they ignored the longer history of smuggled English books, banned book lists, and expatriate literary networks in Paris—in effect the social and material infrastructures of their business that had been in place since the 1890s. Instead, these "dirty" English books (which they called "d.b.'s") were presented as their invention and the basis of the family business. The history of their presses is well known, taken up in separate studies by Neil Pearson, John de St. Jorre, and Patrick Kearney, but it is worth looking at how father and son put Paris editions into political discourse while also battling the fascism of their times. At the very moment when Paris editions entered historical consciousness via careful and deliberate branding, lifted by American nostalgia for 1920s Paris, their deep roots in the city's publishing activities were being destroyed. The publications of Kahane and Girodias, coupled with their highly selective memoirs, importantly document this expatriate publishing phenomenon and its contra-censorship politics, but also turn it into a family legacy that obscures its larger history.[114]

Kahane occupied a number of different social positions. He was a Manchester-born Briton of Romanian Jewish descent who had worked in the textile business and married into a wealthy French family. He was also interested in the arts and became a sort of gentleman novelist. With his French wife and children, he immigrated to France in the 1920s to Neuilly, a wealthy suburb just outside of Paris. He, like so many other literary-minded expatriates, gravitated to Beach's bookshop. Writing about the literary culture in Paris, he described the city as the "rendezvous of the world":

> Montparnasse and all it implied was at its apogee. Hemingway had published *The Sun also Rises.* Ford Madox Ford was ruling a roost of his own. Each month little *avant-garde* magazines were springing up and down. The literature of expatriation was reaching its zenith. Out of Ireland, by way of Trieste, and with the connivance of my excellent friend Miss Sylvia Beach, James Joyce had advanced upon a world variously delighted, amazed, and horrified. The word *Ulysses* was on everybody's mouth, the familiar blue volume on every drawing-room table. The authorities raged, but the tourists imported . . .[115]

Kahane's reflections were part of a wave of expatriate reflections on Paris that included F. Scott Fitzgerald's "Babylon Revisited" (1931) and Malcolm Cowley's *Exile's Return* (1934), the difference being that he started up as Americans left Paris, the stock market crashed, and the Great Depression set in.[116]

This sense that Paris was a site of expatriate encounter and expression formed into a business plan in the winter of 1929 when he read in the *Continental Daily Mail* about the prepublication seizure of Norah James's novel *Sleeveless Errand* on grounds of obscenity (it had lesbian themes). He followed the case closely from the seizure to the trial to the guilty verdict, and afterwards called the London publisher, Eric Partridge of Scholartis Press, to buy the French rights. By late March 1929 he had published, with his collaborator Henri Babou, the Paris edition of the banned English book.[117] As it sold like "unmitigated wildfire" for 100 francs a copy, he came up with the business model that would launch Obelisk Press, as he explained in his *Memoirs of a Booklegger* (1939):

> Thinking about all of these matters, I gradually realized that I had discovered a vocation. For if, as the law stood, it was illegal to publish such books in England, it was not so in France, and if the law was respected as it should be, many fine books which would therefore be lost to the world might be saved by the creation of a vehicle for their publication in a country where it was legal.
>
> And blandly I issued a statement to the London press that in the event of other books of literary merit being banned in England, I was prepared to publish them in Paris within a month.[118]

His son Girodias, who also wrote an autobiography, gave a very similar account of his father's publishing idea: "Putting all these elements together it was easy to imagine what a clever publisher could do with them. No one had thought of producing light erotica for the Anglo-Saxon tourist visiting the Continent, spicy enough to attract those timid souls, and yet not too much so as to avoid trouble with the French authorities. . . . Each time an important book would be banned in the United Kingdom or in America, it would be one more *cause célèbre* to be added to the publisher's list."[119] Neither Kahane nor his son, however, situated his "discovery" on any kind of historical spectrum of expatriate culture, other than mentioning Beach's publication of *Ulysses* and the media sensation over British book banning.

Working in tense collaboration with Babou, Kahane published

Joyce's *Haveth Childers Everywhere* (1930), which was not remunerative, and lost out to Titus on publishing the Paris edition of *Lady Chatterley's Lover.*[120] But by 1931, he launched Obelisk Press from his small office at 16, Place Vendôme. He built up his list with his own novels such as *Daffodil* (1931), which he wrote under the pseudonym Cecil Barr, and some of the most controversial titles of the late 1920s and 1930s. He published Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness* (1933) and Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1936), having bought the rights from Pegasus Press and Odyssey Press in Paris; and he also published Frank Harris's *My Life and Loves* (1934), from whom he had also bought the rights.[121] Basically he became the bona fide publisher of all the books Beach had been supplying from her bookshop in the 1920s. What has gone unremarked is that Carrington titles also formed part of his list. In 1938, he acquired the Carrington titles from Caton's Fortune Press a few years after his trouble with the authorities in London. Kahane released Fortune Press editions under his imprint, providing new title pages for works like Petronius' *Satyricon.*[122]

"The business of the firm was easy to run," Girodias later wrote, overlooking how most of his father's publishing and distribution networks were already in place. Place Vendôme was the publishing and bookselling center of expatriate Paris, counterparts to the more famed expatriate enclaves Montamartre and Montparnasse, something Girodias did not realize in his evocative description of his Kahane's Paris:

> Place Vendôme was perfect for my father, absolutely in his style. You would hear more English than French spoken there, and those who only knew French spoke it with puckered lips and lockjaw infections meant to suggest an Oxford accent, leading one to believe that their own language was foreign to them. . . . We had the Ritz facing us across the way, the Westminster Bank on our left and the Morgan Bank on our right, and all around were to be found the likes of Van Cleef and Arpels, Duveen, Charvet, Gélot, Jacques Heim, Elizabeth Arden, all of them top-level symbols of opulence. Two steps away, the Castiglione Bar and that of the Hôtel Lotti, and not far off, the famous Harry's Bar at No 5 rue Daunou (pronounced *Sank Rew DoeNoo*). And of course, on the place de l'Opéra, the Café de la Paix. We were sitting at the very epicentre of our marketplace, so to speak; which is to say, the bookshops of Brentano's, Galignani, and W. H. Smith.[123]

But Girodias did not mention that this was also Wilde's Paris, Carrington's Paris, and Beach's Paris. The city scenes in *Suburban*

Souls (1901), the turn-of-the-century novel published by Carrington that fictionalized the pornographic book trade, were set here.[124] Many of the addresses and booksellers listed by Girodias were the very same that appear in Beach's account books. In fact, his descriptions of Kahane's business dealings with Anglo-American bookshops mapped the same connections that Beach had established:

> The market consisted in some twenty bookshops in all, a few of them in Nice, Cannes, Juan-les-Pins on the Riviera, and the majority in Paris—in Montmartre, Montparnasse, but essentially on the Right Bank, within spitting distance of the publisher's office. My father used to walk over to his bigger accounts, W. H. Smith or Galignani on the rue de Rivoli. Brentano's on Avenue de l'Opéra, by far the biggest, absorbed all by itself nearly one third of the Obelisk Press production; every morning my father had coffee with his friend Davis, a pleasant, young-looking, white-haired chap who was top salesman at Brentano's, and business was transacted in a genteel, unpressured manner.[125]

With so much of the publishing and distribution infrastructure already in place, Kahane just had to put it into action. He was able to buy the rights cheaply from embattled British publishers, and though he had to contend with the "the horrible mistakes" of French printers or wait for the "slow-moving barges" that shipped from printers and suppliers in Holland or Belgium, he could sometimes simply buy up printed sheets of banned books from the publishers and rebind the books with a new title page. Additionally he was able to keep production costs down by limiting print runs to one thousand copies and using French paper wrappers for the binding. According to his son, even sales were "easy" to "English tourists," drawn by both the notoriety of the books as well the respectability of the banned author or first British publisher.[126] The stroke of marketing genius was putting a bellyband around each of these books: "Not to be sold in the United Kingdom and the U.S.A." This warning had been stamped on books before the 1930s, but Kahane's bellyband helped turn Paris editions into a recognizable brand.

Kahane, more than any other publisher before, also articulated the social and political meanings of his business in Paris editions. "Why a Paris publisher?" he asked in one of the Obelisk Press marketing pamphlets he published. "Any writer," he answered, "who has something grown-up to say but is restrained from saying it through fear and uncertainty should know that the Obelisk Press was created for him and, if his book is a good book, the Obelisk Press will

publish it regardless of interests and informers."[127] In speaking of his Paris publishing firm as a "natural sanctuary for those writers whose books could not be published in England or America on account of censorship restrictions," he politicized his work as a fight for freedom of expression.[128]

Kahane was able to put this politics into practice more than ever when he found his "grand vedette," Henry Miller. In her memoirs Beach commented on how she introduced the author to the publisher: "Henry Miller and that lovely Japanese-looking friend of his, Miss Anaïs Nin, came to see if I would publish an interesting novel he had been working on, *Tropic of Cancer.* I suggested that they show the manuscript to Jack Kahane, who accepted with pleasure this work by a new writer, something that combined the literary and sex value. Kahane was fond of a certain forthright sexiness."[129] Kahane similarly wrote about his great find. He thought Miller's sex-laden semiautobiographical novel about Paris low life and the expatriate experience was the "most terrible, the most sordid, the most magnificent" manuscript he had ever read, and he straightaway published *Tropic of Cancer* (1934) in a limited edition of five hundred copies, which was soon followed by other works by Miller and Anaïs Nin.[130] Beach and the other Anglo-American booksellers readily sold these books from their shops.[131] Girodias also wrote about his father's publication of Miller's books, recounting how he as a young teenager drew the picture for the front wrapper of *Tropic of Cancer*—a picture of the crab carrying off a naked, supine woman. He helped out his father in other ways during his formative years: packing, sorting, and proofreading the books, hunting down "the typos in those endless sex scenes before me."[132] These three different recollections of Kahane's dealings with Miller reveal the transmission of the Paris edition, as well as its cultural and social values, over time through shared sources, shared contacts, shared dinner tables, "reaffirming for 1930s Paris the role it had established for itself during the twenties, that of proud defender of 'difficult' literature in the face of prudish and litigious government."[133]

Kahane's politicization of expatriate Paris and his publishing ventures went against prevailing thought of the time as there was a turn away from the Paris moment in the 1930s. Many 1920s expatriates, as Brooke L. Blower discusses, had renounced their time in Paris as an escapist diversion and politically disengaged wandering.[134] George Orwell's review of Kahane's edition of Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* captures this sentiment in his essay "Inside the Whale," (1940) where he

calls the book "a bit of naughty-naughty left over from the 'twenties."[135] Orwell appreciates Miller's prose-poetry of Paris gutter and brothel, rendered as only a foreigner could capture them, but the novel's final lyrical scene, which has the author sitting and watching in Whitmanesque fashion as the Seine flows by, provokes Orwell to write one of his most powerful passages on politically engaged writing: "To say "I accept" in an age like our own is to say that you accept concentration camps, rubber truncheons, Hitler, Stalin, bombs, aeroplanes, tinned food, machine-guns, putsches, purges, slogans, Bedaux belts, gas-masks, submarines, spies, *provocateurs,* press censorship, secret prisons, aspirins, Hollywood films, and political murders." Psychology, expatriates, Paris, and sex are out, he adds: "The average sensual man is out of fashion. The passive, non-political attitude is out of fashion. Preoccupation with sex and truthfulness about the inner life are out of fashion. American Paris is out of fashion. A book like *Tropic of Cancer,* published at such a time, must be either a tedious preciosity or something unusual."[136] Orwell allows that Miller's book was "unusual" rather than precious, but argues that the novel and its publisher were out of time, out of history, and out of social and political consciousness. How could such a book, he wonders, be *published at such a time*? He did not see the book or its publisher as part of a larger fulmination in Paris. Donald Pizer's reading of *Tropic of Cancer* as a synthesis in fragments of the expatriate moment in Paris recuperates the novel from Orwell's time-mongering urgency, but largely limits it to the American context without considering how the novel's rebel "avatars from the past," like Walt Whitman and Miller's expatriate British publisher, link it to a larger extranational cultural formation.[137]

In a very real way, the publishing and distribution networks transmitted from father to son, and more broadly speaking from Carrington to Kahane, were destroyed and broken up by the Second World War and the Nazi occupation of France. The day after the outbreak of the war, Kahane, "stricken by the sheer horror of it all," died suddenly after a drunken binge.[138] On the eve of the occupation, at just over twenty years old, Girodias found himself in Paris with a British passport, a Jewish family name, a dead father, and a depleted inheritance. The precariousness of his father's expatriate life caught up with him, and within his own family, as he revealed in his autobiography, there was a fulminating anti-Semitism. Girodias swapped his Jewish family name (Kahane) for his mother's maiden name (Girodias), and acquired a French identity card.[139] Paris was

no longer a publishing haven for an expatriate Jewish publisher of English pornography. The name change signaled yet another damaged life and broken legacy in the history of Paris editions. How many readers of Girodias's later Olympia Press publications would have linked the publisher back to his father?

Girodias pursued different kinds of publishing activities during the occupation, but after the war, he returned to the family business and began reprinting some of his father's editions of Miller's novels, eventually founding Olympia Press in 1953. In his introduction to *The Olympia Reader* (1965), Girodias explained that the impetus behind his press was an "urge to attack the Universal Establishment with all the means at my disposal," whether that be "French intolerance or Anglo-American moral conventions."[140] Like his father had done in the interwar period, Girodias published the most important and controversial English-language novels of the postwar period—*The Story of O* (1954), Nabokov's *Lolita* (1955), and William Burroughs's *Naked Lunch* (1959). He also commissioned titles that left little to the imagination, such as *White Thighs* (1955) and *The Sexual Life of Robinson Crusoe* (1955), alongside a few Victorian pornographic classics like *Teleny* (1958).[141] He published many of these "the d.b.'s" "side by side with more respectable items" in green paperback volumes that constituted The Traveller's Companion Series. "That confusion was deliberate," he writes, "as it made it easy to sell the higher class of literature: the d.b.'s fans were as fascinated by the ugly plain green covers as the addict by the white powder, however deceptive both may prove to be."[142] The green covers were not only part of his branding, but also his cultural politics. His father defended freedom of expression, but Girodias went even further. Like Carrington many years earlier, he delighted in laying wreck to the cultural hierarchies of the literary field, and voiced this practice directly:

> It was great fun. The Anglo-Saxon world was being attacked, invaded, infiltrated, out-flanked, and conquered by this erotic armada. The Dickensian schoolmasters of England were convulsed with helpless rage, the judges' hair was standing on end beneath their wigs, black market prices in New York and London for our green-backed products were soaring to fantastic heights.
>
> Enough has been said about the influence of the printed word; but never enough about the liberating influence of the printed four-letter word. Those literary orgies, those torrents of systematic bad taste were quite clearly instrumental in clearing the air, and clearing out a few mental cobwebs.[143]

In Girodias's writings about his publishing firm, moreover, he acknowledged his father's influence and declared himself to be "a second-generation Anglo-French pornographer."[144] He bridged the publishing gap caused by the war, but in so doing turned Paris editions into a paternal inheritance rather than something larger. Except for Beach, he never referred to Carrington or the other expatriate publishers of Paris editions.

Girodias faced an increasingly censorious French government during the 1950s and early 1960s, and found himself in endless litigation. "It was clear also there was no place in Paris for a publisher specializing in 'unpublishable' English-language books," as Kearney writes in *The Paris Olympia Press.* "His customers didn't have to visit Paris anymore for the books they sought; they were available freely in their own countries, either in legitimate reprints, as with the Grove Press editions of Henry Miller's 'Paris' books, or in the many piracies being published."[145] This geopolitical shift was also signaled by the liberalization of the new Obscene Publications Act of 1959 in Britain and Penguin's openly published edition of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* in 1960.[146] When Girodias set off for America in 1966, Paris was no longer the place of expatriate detour and encounter from which to operate in the interstices of state, society, and culture. Paris editions had come to an end, evoked only vestigially by the short-lived Olympia Press branches he created in London and New York.[147]

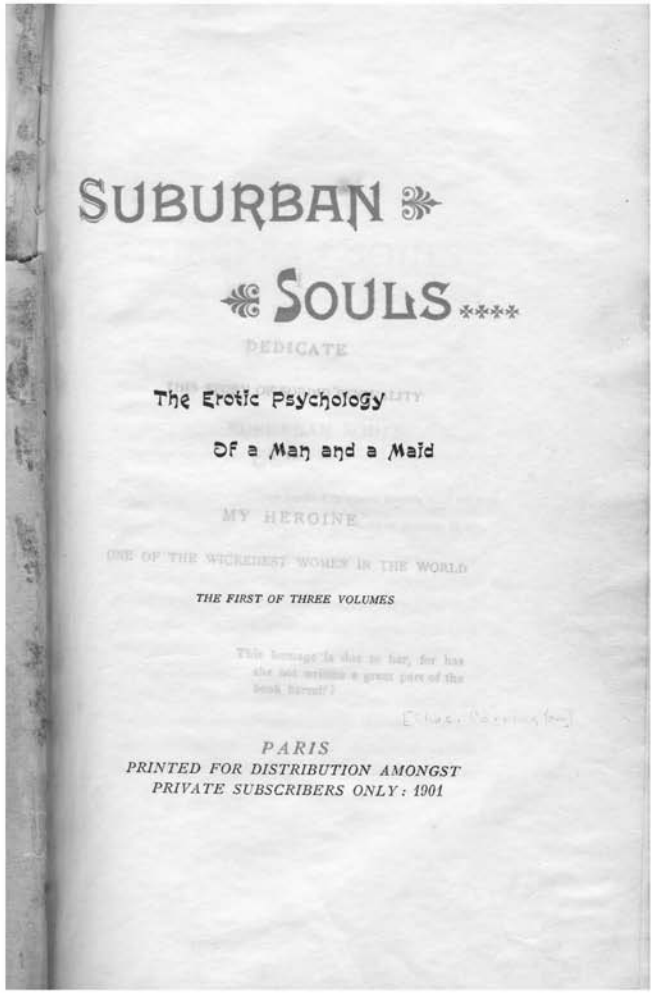
A variety of people of different nationality converged in networked activity around Paris editions over the years, connecting *The Picture of Dorian Gray* to *Lolita,* and linking figures like Carrington, Beach, and Girodias. These networks even extended outside Europe to America, sometimes through an expatriate diaspora. The New York dealers Esar Levine (Panurge Press) and Benjamin Rebhuhn (Falstaff Press) started searching for and reprinting Paris editions from the 1920s onwards. Ads were placed in the weekly book-exchange section of *Publishers Weekly* with requests for *Ulysses, The Well of Loneliness,* and *Lady Chatterley's Lover.* There were also ads that specifically requested older Paris editions, some asking for "Charles Carrington. Any Paris eds," others wanting "any books published in English by Charles Carrington; Isidore Liseux. Curiosa Esoterica and Flagellation."[148] The New York dealer Sam Roth, who distributed books for both the Panurge and Falstaff presses, developed an even more extensive business in Paris editions—through his bookshops, mail-order trade, and complicated distribution networks.

Raids on his New York bookshops in the late 1920s uncovered reprints of Carrington's *Forbidden Books,* as well as *Ulysses, Lady Chatterley's Lover,* and *Fanny Hill.* Rumor had it that he got some of his stock from H. S. Nichols, who relocated to New York City after leaving Paris sometime in 1908 (after having fled a London prison sentence in 1900).[149] And as late as 1953, there was a Paris bookshop in Mexico near the Tijuana border, run by an old Paris expatriate who sold and reprinted old standards like *Memoirs of a Russian Ballet Dancer, The Yellow Room,* and *The Perfumed Garden.*[150]

How do we account for this publishing paradise in Paris that attracted a wildly different group of people over a seventy-year period who sometimes had nothing in common except a general opposition to Anglo-American culture and French intolerance? We might turn to Renato Poggioli's notion of "cultural situations more in potential than in execution, tendencies in a fluid or raw state." Or we might look to Gerald Raunig's idea of "transversal concatenations" which uses the geometric figure of the transversal to describe groups which are not hierarchical and do not conform to "compulsory communication and adaptation," but engage in shared "lines of flight" and "rupture."[151] I see expatriate publishing in Paris from Carrington to Girodias as an extranational cultural formation that only really entered into political and social consciousness in a latent mode, which, when most clearly articulated near its end, was made redundant by changing geopolitical conditions. But it was also the incoherent cultural and social character of this publishing haven and pornographer's paradise that made it so open and flexible for a variety of dissident people and books from abroad, opening up many different pathways and crossways that we can continue to trace.

III

PORNOGRAPHY



6.1. Title page for *Suburban Souls: The Erotic Psychology of a Man and a Maid* (Paris: Printed for distribution amongst private subscribers only [Carrington], 1901). Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction.

CHAPTER 6

SUBURBAN SOULS AND THE LITERARY FAMILY, PARIS CIRCA 1900

The changing cultural politics and publishing networks that gave shape to the pornographer's paradise in Paris are encoded in fascinating ways in certain Paris editions. Works that presented themselves as confessions, memoirs, or diaries reflected on the expatriated book at different moments in its history. Jerome McGann's sense that the meaning of texts is related to changing material and social contexts suggests a method of reading the unfolding history of Paris editions in terms of their shifting textual, bibliographical, and publishing conditions.[1] The hard-to-classify book titled *Suburban Souls: The Erotic Psychology of a Man and a Maid* (1901) is a good place to start because it is an odd mix of self-reflexive literary praxis, publishing history, and pornography that is interwoven with a semifictionalized account of Charles Carrington's clandestine trade in Paris editions circa 1900 (fig. 6.1).[2]

Privately published in Paris by Carrington, this three-volume book is the diary of a mysterious English expatriate who calls himself Jacky S., works at the Paris stock exchange, and freelances as

an editor for a pornographer. Set in Paris between 1897 and 1899 and anticipating "the year 1900," *Suburban Souls* is made up of diary entries, letters, lengthy citations, dramatic scripts, and appendices which together focus on Jacky's erotic obsession with a young French woman named Lily Arvel and the "strange little secrets" of her "peculiar and patriarchal family" from the Paris suburbs.[3] While breathing in "an atmosphere of incest" that arouses his "passions to the utmost extent," Jacky turns into a "sensual Sherlock Holmes" and futilely attempts to uncover the quasi-incestuous relationship between Lily and her stepfather, Eric Arvel. All the while he also acts out the role of Papa in his intimate correspondence with Lily, whom he calls his "little daughter."[4] Soon everything becomes linked through an incestuous chain of deduction. Jacky's dog, his mistress, his lover, and her villa all have the same name—Lily/Lilian. In the same vein Eric Arvel's continuous inbreeding of dogs serves as proof of "his passion for his mistress's daughter."[5] The modern realities of train timetables, telegraphic communication, and suburban commuting set the pace for this strange mystery of quasi-incest, connecting social modernity, integrated technology, and psychosexual pathology. This description makes the book sound like a pornographic version of a Dan Brown novel hurling its hero through the city to unlock its secrets. Unfortunately *Suburban Souls* is far less exciting. By the third turgid volume of entries, letters, and telegrams, the incest plot has lost all of its propulsion. But if we keep in mind Vladimir Nabokov's injunction never to read for plot, we might notice the extraordinary number of books that are named, quoted, and exchanged as Jacky's incest fantasy-mystery plays out. Over seventy-five different books are cited over the course of the three volumes, all of a very different nature, many of them Paris editions, some of them cross-referenced. It is not too much of a leap to reason that Jacky's preoccupation with incest is of a decidedly literary character.

As Lisa Sigel has shown, incest became the subject of increased debate in Europe toward the end of the nineteenth century. While legal, medical, and cultural opinion about incest remained unconsolidated, publishers exploited this interest and contributed to the rise of "incest pornography." For the author of *Suburban Souls,* who wrote before these debates culminated in Sigmund Freud's theories of incest as the basis of psychosexual development and before the passing of the Punishment of Incest Act in Britain in 1908, incest is imaginary rather than real.[6] The "old bibliophile" (aka Carrington)

who compiled the bibliography of *Forbidden Books* (1902) recognized as much in his entry on the book: "It is not incest in the true sense of the word. The incest is merely fanciful. Eric Arvel, splendidly sketched as a selfish, gluttonous sensualist, keeps her mother, not even being married to her, and all salacious epicureans would declare that he had a sort of right to her pretty daughter at common—very common—law."[7] Jacky's "play at incest" is not simply fodder for his sexual fantasizing, however, as it also informs the way he looks at the literary field, the pornographic book trade, and his own pornographic writing and reading practices. Though it can be dangerous to abstract incest from the act of sexual abuse, it has been, as Freud has shown, a powerful concept for interpreting culture and society. This is also true for *Suburban Souls* as it taps into an incestuous imaginary to offer a unique perspective on the business and cultural politics of Paris editions. While dealing with all things literary through the "shadowy signs of incest," the book in effect anticipates cultural studies methodologies of defiling cultural purities and mixing stories never heard and never written with great moments in literature and history.[8] *Suburban Souls* thus gives some insight into how those involved in the business of Paris editions around the turn of the century related to their work and imagined themselves, moving within networks of socialization and communication as a troublesome literary family. The novel is not just a Paris edition: it itself tells the story of Paris editions.

Roman à Clef

The most perplexing opening question is whether Carrington himself penned *Suburban Souls.* In his role as publisher, he was the first to generate questions about the mysterious author of this "simple confession."[9] In his prospectus for the book, he wrote that "it was written by an English gentleman, for love and not for lucre; a man who, conversant with many lands and languages, has travelled much, and mixed in the highest and lowest society. He is a scholar of vast powers of expressions, who, by one side of his character shines as a poet and on the other proves himself a logical reasoner of no mean analytical order." In the same prospectus, he also taunts readers to speculate about the identity of this English gentleman:

> It is impossible to prevent the inquisitive conjectures of readers; but they can be misled and this has been thoroughly carried out. Names,

> places, and dates have been altered, and the principal story, together with all the lewd narratives which accompany it, buried beneath many accumulated days, have been arranged so that no one can guess at the real names of the characters, nor where they dwell, and if ever those facts are made known it will only be because the people sketched in the pages of 'Suburban Souls,' have come forward themselves and cried out that they figured therein.[10]

No one ever came forward to claim authorship. A few critics have made conjectures, including Gershon Legman who identifies the author as John Stephen Farmer. Legman draws connections between Jacky's interest in sexual slang and Farmer's work on *Slang and its Analogues* (1890–1904). This argument is too tangential to be persuasive, however.[11] As his prospectus shows, Carrington was evidently keen on engendering this kind of curiosity about authorship. Was this simply the usual marketing tactic of drumming up interest in secret authorship? Such tactics in the trade led to the unconfirmed rumors, for example, that Algernon Swinburne was the author of *Flossie: A Venus at Fifteen* (1897), that Oscar Wilde was the author of the homosexual novel *Teleny* (1893), and that the textile trader Henry Spencer Ashbee was the author of the eleven-volume diary *My Secret Life* (c. 1888–c. 1894).[12] Or, did Carrington have an even more personal investment in generating interest in the authorship of *Suburban Souls*? His praise of the author's "vast powers," after all, recalls Hector France's admiration for Carrington's own "wide learning." "The Publisher in question," France wrote, "is far from being an ordinary man; he is a scholar and a distinguished Orientalist, one who possesses an intimate acquaintance not only with the languages of Asia but with those of Europe as well."[13] Might *Suburban Souls* be Carrington's own roman à clef?

Bibliographical clues within the diary itself point to Carrington's involvement in some capacity or another. Jacky's detailed descriptions of his dealings with a Dutch pornographer are the most revealing. A Rotterdam bookseller, Jacky tells us, commissions him to edit a "most lascivious text-book": "A Worthy Dutch bookseller, Mynheer Vanderpunk, who had frequently procured old and curious works for me, now wrote from his dusty old shop at Rotterdam, and begged me to be kind enough to correct the text and revise the proofs of a voluptuous volume he intended to bring out under the rose, and which he called: 'The Horn Book; or, the Girl's Guide to Knowledge." The manuscript was amusing and the task not a displeasing one for me."[14] Jacky later adds

that he finished the manuscript and sent it to his "good friend Vanderpunk."[15] *The Horn Book* was an actual Paris edition. It is an instructional guide on sex that was clandestinely published in Paris by Carrington in 1898, possibly printed in Holland, and regularly advertised in his catalogues.[16] Peter Mendes suggests that Jacky deflects attention away from the Paris trade by obfuscating *The Horn Book*'s production behind the front of a decrepit bookshop in Rotterdam and the notorious "secret presses of Belgium and Holland."[17] With little bibliographical excavating, however, it becomes clear that Carrington's publishing activities are central to Jacky's editorial work and other literary endeavors. A little more research also unveils the wily Vanderpunk as the Dutch traveling agent Alfred Van Dyck, who, as we saw in chapter 1, got caught up in a British sting operation in 1897 while he was posting pornography published by Carrington.[18]

Jacky also describes another work of pornography that he edits for Vanderpunk:

> My bookselling friend in Rotterdam was evidently pleased with my efforts in correcting "The Horn Book," for he now took the liberty of sending me another long and very obscene manuscript to correct and send through the press for him.
>
> It was called, "The Double Life of Cuthbert Cockerton," and strange to say, was principally about incestuous love between a father and daughter.
>
> This book necessitated a lot of correction, and Vanderpunk insisted upon me adding a few words to the preface, and I did so.[19]

Like *The Horn Book*, *The Double Life* was a Paris edition that was published by Carrington in 1899. It is an adaptation of Restif de la Bretonne's classic *L'Antijustine* (1798) and rightly known for its "terrible, cold-blooded ferociousness" next to which "the pages of old-world pornography shrink into Sunday-school text books."[20] Jacky undertakes extensive editorial work on this notorious manuscript, which he explains in detail:

> I was now finishing the revision of "The Double Life," and I had inserted the two following paragraphs,—Vanderpunk did not know English,—and I do not think my additions spoilt that otherwise extraordinary work:
>
> Page 237.—"Her nostrils quivered with fresh rising lust; her lips were moist. She clung to me, murmuring:

"'Papa! Papa! Don't be silly, darling! F . . . me last. Just one little tiny spend of your poupée. Tiny! Tiny!'"

Page 419. —"I have a vision, Papa! I dream that we are living in a pretty cottage in the country amid trees and flowers! We are happy there with poor dead mamma come to life again. All three we play together. Our bedrooms communicate. Sometimes you take me travelling alone with thee to foreign climes. I shall have a beautiful, tall brother. He shall have a sweetheart, and we will all enjoy her. He shall frig and suck with me, and thou shalt be jealous. Thou wilt make me cheat and deceive all men, and I will rob them for thee and mamma. And I will hoodwink them, telling that I am a virgin, and how papa teazes [*sic*] me with his infamous love, and they will take pity and give me gold for my dress and the house. And I will try and never get the pox, so as not to give it to my darling old papa sweetheart!"[21]

Both page and textual references in *Suburban Souls* correspond to the original Carrington edition of *The Double Life*. The only difference is that Jacky replaces "Fuck" with ellipses. Once again it is not difficult to follow the bibliographical path back to Carrington. In fact the reader is encouraged to do so, if a copy of the rare book can somehow be procured.

In his not-so-secret bibliography of *Forbidden Books,* Carrington highlights all three of these roughly contemporary Paris editions (*Suburban Souls, The Horn Book,* and *The Double Life*) and spends considerable time generating interest in their composition and production. His entry for *The Double Life,* for instance, alludes to the editorial work Jacky undertakes and describes in *Suburban Souls:*

The translator of "the Double Life," seems to have revelled in his ticklish task, for not content with carefully adapting the book to London manners and customs of the XVIIIth century, he has elaborated and intensified the original text, forming a strange mixture of Gallic refined tricks and inventions of obscenity with the plainest and boldest English. But even the "slim" bookseller of the Boompjes has stopped short of a deliberate rendering of a most blasphemous prayer, which the heroine—who revels in incest and prostitution—addresses to the "Holy and pretty Virgin Mary," for he has freely interspersed the whole appeal with lines of point.[22]

These intertextual references to Jacky's editorial work offer a sort of bibliographical key that links *Suburban Souls* to Carrington's other secret publishing activity. But the key is nonetheless hard to

manipulate and never quite fits. Was Jacky yet another pseudonym for Carrington, one to add to his growing list as the old bibliophile, English Bohemian, Judex, and Basil Hallward? Or was Jacky one of the writers who were part of Carrington's inner circle and who took cues from his publisher about which books to plug? Or was Jacky a composite character fictionalized to play out the role of agent, editor, and reader in the pornographic book trade?

My discoveries about Carrington's family background would appear to shore up the theory that he, or maybe one of his brothers, wrote *Suburban Souls.* Jacky indicates that he works at the Paris Bourse, and follows the financial news: he makes references to the new laws governing stock-exchange operations that followed the stock market crash in New York on May 5, 1893, and he also cites from the fictitious *Stock Exchange Magazine,* which may have been based on the London paper the *City Review.*[23] Carrington ran a fraudulent stockbroking operation with his brothers in London before he immigrated to Paris to become a publisher. He was well versed in stocks and bonds, and his brother George Samuel Ferdinando seems to have built up a successful international career in finance. Jacky poses as a forty-year-old balding man, which makes him about a decade older than either Carrington or his brother in the late 1890s, but this could have been a bit of simple subterfuge. There are other parallels between Jacky and the two brothers. Jacky has an ailing mistress (his first Lily) who eventually dies; similarly, both Carrington and his brother had ailing wives, George Samuel's dying in 1897 during the time frame of the diary. There is also the curious fact that the book was printed on bank-note paper so thin and transparent that there is considerable bleed through. Although the paper should have been a detraction, it was instead a selling point: Carrington's prospectus advertised the book as "three pocket-sized volumes, demy . . . printed on English hand-made bank-note paper, the most expensive kind of that is manufactured in the mills of Great Britain."[24] The paper, which is watermarked Lion Extra Strong Mill 402 and was used as bank-note paper, gives material weight to some of Jacky's biographical claims—that he comes from London and that he works in finance. It would not have been difficult for Carrington or his brother to come across this paper, given their background and connections, and perhaps they wanted to leave a material trace of their secret "confession."

If a roman à clef is a novel about a real life overlaid with fiction, however, the key to the relationship between the fiction and

nonfiction in *Suburban Souls* is still unworkable. Many of the references simply cannot be tracked down. Eric Arvel putatively publishes a scandalous article on Parisian nightlife in the *Stock Exchange Magazine,* which is excerpted in the *Suburban Souls* appendix, but the article is untraceable. Similarly the suburb where Lily's family lives, Sonis-sur-Marne, is impossible to place, though we learn it is twenty minutes east of Paris on the Meaux line.[25] One explanation is that the author did not want the secret to out. Carrington generated curiosity about the author in his promotional literature and the work itself prompts the reader to follow bibliographical leads, but such leads may have been intended primarily for those in his inner circle who did not need a key. Carrington advertised the book in his usual catalogues, but he restricted the print run to 150 copies and priced it prohibitively at four guineas. Most clandestinely published pornographic books were priced at around a guinea.[26] He marketed the book to a public, but he restricted this public even more than usual. There was also never a second edition or reprint, either by Carrington or one of his competitors. Such a restricted publication, in a trade already known for limited print runs, suggests that the book was meant for a select audience—his fellow colleagues and co-conspirators, his immediate literary "family."

Another explanation, however, is that the confession is fiction posing as reality, much like Humbert Humbert's confession in Vladimir Nabokov's *Lolita* (1955). Nabokov allows himself to slip into his text at times, via the anagrammatic figure of Vivian Darkbloom, for example, making the detail of his authorship as much a textual feature as Humbert or Lolita.[27] Carrington, or someone in his circle, was possibly doing the same, making the author part of the literary mystery. It is possible to read *Suburban Souls* as a purely literary endeavor that plays with the form of a roman à clef, a particularly appealing genre in a trade that often marketed its goods "under lock and key."[28] If we read the book in this way, we can recognize that Carrington's advertising prompts and the book's bibliographical leads are not actual disclosures, but rather strategies for training the reader to read deductively and intertextually. Much like Jacky who puts letters, telegrams, and books in strange relationship to each other in order to lead him to Lily's secret incest, we are encouraged to do the same in order to search for the key that unlocks the secrets of this diary, even if that key remains elusive. Some parts of *Suburban Souls* may be based on the experiences of someone in Carrington's inner circle, and other parts are certainly

related to his publishing activities, but the real key to *Suburban Souls* may after all be a method of approaching literary culture both incestuously and intertextually. It is also a method that is an important antecedent to modernism, with its intertextuality, self-referentiality, experimentation, and blending of high and low forms.

The Literary Family

As the question of authorship becomes an intertextual puzzle for the reader, Jacky applies the same intertextual approach to the telling of his own "sensual tale." He interweaves references to other works of literature in his diary in the form of epigraphs, in-text allusions, long citations, and appendices. He also translates most of the letters and discussions in the diary from the French, one of the most intertextual of literary practices according to Walter Benjamin.[29] He thus situates his diary within a larger multilingual Anglo-French literary field, intimating that what he has to confess has as much to do with literature as it does with himself. What he repeatedly confesses are the strange and startling relationships that transform this literary field into a perverse literary family. Carrington's publications, once again, figure centrally.

Jacky begins his diary by situating it almost immediately in relationship to other literature: "I have always been a great reader of amatory literature and all books and novels relating to sexual matters, whether wilfully obscene or cunningly veiled; whether written by medical authorities, novelists, or even issued from the secret presses of Belgium and Holland."[30] While remarking that "such tales were far from true to nature," Jacky outlines his own literary objective. "Really true tales of sensuality are thus rare," he writes, "and I come forward to give you mine, where I have carefully endeavoured to keep my imagination within bounds and tell nothing but what did really happen."[31] His subsequent confession not only experiments with a kind of pornographic writing that puts a special premium on truth, but also imagines a literary field which will accommodate such writing. His multitude of literary references reveals this agenda as he repeatedly proposes intimate and unseemly literary relationships.

Jacky's intertextuality functions in a variety of modes as he puts different types of literature in conversation. For a start, he relies heavily on "paratexts," the term coined by Gérard Genette to describe the off-texts that are not part of the main text, but nonetheless

influence to varying degrees the way the text is understood with their "illocutionary force." They are also what McGann recognizes as part of the textual condition, namely the economic and social conditions of textuality.[32] The most immediately noticeable paratexts in *Suburban Souls* are the epigraphs. Each chapter is introduced by an epigraph taken from the work of a celebrated British author such as Shakespeare, Sir John Vanbrugh, John Ford, and Daniel Defoe (though there are also references to philosophers, sexologists, and French authors interspersed).

The source for these epigraphs is a book called *Extracts Principally from English Classics* (1888), which was privately published by the Covent Garden bookseller Henry Vizetelly when he was facing obscenity charges for having sold English translations of Emile Zola's novels. As Carrington's private book catalogues show, Vizetelly's book was circulated in the clandestine book trade.[33] Vizetelly's ostensible goal in compiling extracts from Renaissance and Restoration drama, eighteenth-century novels, and Romantic poetry was to demonstrate that the British masters were as frank about sex as contemporary French novelists. Endorsements of sexually frank modern literature by Zola and Henry James underscored this objective, though they did not keep Vizetelly out of prison.[34] Jacky turns these extracts into epigraphs to establish his chapter's main themes and legitimize his writing. Yet even though the epigraphs work to put his diary in conversation with consecrated literature, the fact that they were taken from a clandestinely circulated book layers this conversation with reminders of the Anglo-French culture wars over Zola, Jeremy Collier's famous denouncement of Restoration comedy in *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage* (1698), and various other contra-censorship movements through history.[35] The epigraphs thus not only serve to position Jacky's work favorably in the literary field, but simultaneously contest the teleological notion that literature becomes more pornographic and debased over time.[36] The pornographic, Jacky shows paratextually, is bred into British literary history.

The nineteen extracts in the appendix of *Suburban Souls* situate Jacky's diary in relation to another literary corpus. These extracts are taken from newspaper articles on incest and from pornographic books discussed and exchanged within the diary itself. With one exception (Eric Arvel's article on the Parisian nightlife), all of the items in the appendix come from identifiable sources. Appendix M on "A Horrible Crime," for example, is a newspaper article that

reports on a father's incestuous relationship with his daughter. Although this report was originally in French, Jacky accurately reports that it was taken from *Le Petit journal* on July 4, 1899. If the epigraphs function to put Jacky's diary on the same level as literary classics, the appendices work to authenticate it with the up-to-date factuality of the news. At the same time, they encourage readers to track down these sources, which are fully cited, thus both flagging and triggering further literary intertextuality.

Jacky's extensive use of citation is another mode of his intertextuality. References to classic English plays from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries brush up against references to popular English writers such as George Moore, Christie Murray, and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. The nineteenth-century French poet Alfred de Musset is mentioned alongside French novelists such as Marcel Prévost, Robert de Louis, and Pierre Louÿs, who were publishing contemporaneously with Jacky's diary. A wide variety of newspapers and magazines are also cited—from France (*Le Journal*, *Le Petit journal*, *Le Figaro*, *Le Journal de Seine et Marne*), and from England (*Society*, *London Stock Exchange Magazine*, *Pearson's Weekly*, and *Illustrated Police Budget*). Alongside these are the numerous references to clandestinely published Paris editions that were all being distributed by Carrington and regularly listed in his catalogues: in addition to *The Double Life of Cuthbert Cockerton* and *The Horn Book*, other titles mentioned are *The Yellow Room*, *Flossie*, *The Romance of Lust*, *The Convent School*, *Colonel Spanker's Lecture*, *The Mysteries of Verbena House*, *Gynecocracy*, *Fanny Hill*, *Dolly Morton*, *The Pleasures of Cruelty*, and *The Confessions of Nemesis Hunt*.[37] Jacky also makes passing references to medical handbooks, philosophical studies, old German ballads, and Victorian poets. This array of references is ponderous rather than ingeniously allusive as in Nabokov or James Joyce. While Jacky aims to bolster his status as author and critic, the more interesting effect is that he ignores national, historical, bibliographical, and generic differences as well as the intricate taxonomies of literary value. He passes "papers, books, gossip, news and smut" to Lily's father indiscriminately, without even a rhetorical sense of their difference.[38]

Jacky extends the intertextual mesh and literary intimacies even further by cross-referencing works of literature in his diary. One example among many is his treatment of *The Ethnology of the Sixth Sense* (1899), a work of sexology published by Carrington that he lends to Lily's stepfather, Eric.[39] He says he added in pencil a series

of literary references to the item "Monstrous clitores" [*sic*] listed in the book's descriptive Table of Contents: "Compare with Dorothée. ('Justine.') Conversations in January"; "Compare conversations on the same topic in May"; "Compare 'Romance of Lust,' vol. II, p. 72: Lizzie."[40] Later Jacky inserts into his diary a lengthy extract on female sexual anatomy and provides specific page numbers corresponding to the original Carrington edition.[41] This is all part of some hapless scheme to find anatomical proof of Lily's guilt. Jacky's cross-referencing brings himself, Eric, and the reader along on the quest into illicit literary relations and family secrets.

Jacky's intertextual approach to literature is more than just citational. It is also adaptive. Many of the literary references that he cites, cross-references, and exchanges are also the source material for his own confession. Edmond Tarbé's French novel *Césarée* (1891), which explores the subject of father-daughter incest, is one of his main source texts. Jacky adopts *Césarée*'s distinctive mode of narration through first-person diary entries, letters, and telegraphs. He also borrows one of the novel's key plot devices: the European hotel rooms with communicating doors shared by father and daughter. When Lily and her father travel in Europe, Jacky hires a detective to follow them and spy on their sleeping arrangements; he even includes a sketch of the hotel room that they share in Brussels.[42] There are no metafictional breaks to signal his use of a source text, but he does incorporate the book into the incestuous drama, lending it to Lily to read, underscoring the "best bits" related to the shared hotel rooms, and even referring to her as his "neat little Césarée."[43] In this way he also brings Lily into the intertextual fold. Jacky similarly borrows heavily from *Suzanne: Roman contemporain* (1897), another incest tale set in Paris by the infamous French politician Léon Daudet. Jacky draws on the novel's setting in particular, its preoccupation with Paris streets (such as rue de la Paix) and the illicit apartment rendezvous.[44] He also overlaps his so-called lived experiences with the events described in the novel: "The subject was the incest of a bad girl, a liar and a hypocrite, who glories in her wrongful lust for her own father. He takes her away on a trip to Spain; her health being the pretext, and both alone together, they put up at a hotel, when he gives her a ring, just as Papa did in Brussels. It is one of the most powerful works of the kind. I underscored all the erotic passages, with any remark which seemed to touch on Lily's case, and there were many."[45] Jacky eventually imagines Lily as his "Suzanne-Césarée," blurring fact and fiction in adaptive intertextuality.[46]

While moving between various intertextual modes, Jacky continually situates his confession in relationship to other works of literature. In so doing, however, he searches for connections rather than strategic advantages, revealing how his intertextuality is dependent on a transcultural model of the literary field rather than a polarized field of struggles governed by positions and dispositions as famously theorized by Pierre Bourdieu.[47] On the face of things Jacky tries to prove illicit familial relationships by following a literary chain of evidence, but if we take his preoccupation with incest less literally, we see how it becomes an enabling figure for a cultural practice committed to opening up the literary field and uncovering its skeletons. An incestuous model of intertextuality is probably not what Julia Kristeva had in mind when she coined the term, but it gives form to the irreverent mixing of literary texts and reading trajectories she theorizes. It also gives fuller license to the kinds of intertextual activity in which publisher, printer, author, character, or reader engage, overturning the rules of decorum that give bigger or smaller parts to the various players in the communications circuit or ignore the relationship between text and paratext.[48] Jacky's intertextual approach to literature suggests a cultural politics that connects pornography and the classics in one perverse literary family, and also repeatedly implicates Carrington's Paris-based publishing business and his radical vision of culture in this larger project.

The Suburban Circuit

Jacky's intertextual approach to literature extends beyond the textual to the material. As he puts together his "curious mixture" of literary references, he also reflects on how these books move through the "communications circuit," particularly the distribution phase. Again and again he describes himself or the Arvels traveling from Paris to the suburb in Sonis-sur-Marne with books in hand, and he maps how these books are physically transported through the city. These book-laden trips back and forth between Paris and the suburb comment on Carrington's publishing business, as more often than not the books being passed around turn out to be Carrington's Paris editions. Jacky's literary travels through the suburban circuit are especially interesting for the hectic details he provides—his close calls, forbidden encounters, and mixed parcels. If the "space in literature" reflects on "literature in space" (to allude to Franco Moretti's cartographic method of reading), what does

Jacky's suburban circuit say about the intertextual traffic in Paris editions?[49]

The Paris Jacky gives us is not the city we would expect. It is not the Decadent city of absinthe and long nights, nor is it Walter Benjamin's nineteenth-century city of reverie and passages.[50] Eric Arvel's supposed article on Paris called "Notes from the Gay City" for the sham *London Stock Exchange Magazine* points to this shift away from these mythic images of the city:

> A steady tide of visitors sets in towards the "City of Pleasure," the Mecca of the man whose imagination has been fired by the songs and gestures of the Parisian singers and dancers, but who too often on his arrival at the goal of his desire finds everything as flat and dull as the proverbial ditch water, for I know no more prosaic place than Paris under the Republic. The old animation of the boulevards is like the ball at the Opéra during the Carnival—existing simply in the minds of those who have read the memoirs published by men prior to the days of Nestor Roqueplan. The Jardin de Paris, although Oller is always up to date in his attempts to cater for the visitors, is but a very modernised imitation of Cremorne, and the old Jardin Mabille, where Rigolboche and Finette preceded the ladies who delight in such names as "Grille d'Egout."
>
> "Nini Patte en L'Air," and "La Goulue," has disappeared for want of patronage. Tradition seems to impress English tourists with the legend of Paris; but small wonder that most of them declare on their return that they prefer London to Paris for everything. . . . The summer holidays are the harvest time of those shameless individuals: the touts for all that is bad and vile in a city where men avow deeds so carefully hidden by Pharisees on the other side of the Channel. The police are too busy hunting up small political conspirators to think of arresting thieves, much less these men, who are the purveyors of clandestine places resorted to by foreigners, who often carry their lives in their hands, and owe their safety to the generosity to which they are prompted by the surroundings.[51]

Eric criticizes this new city, but Jacky transforms this more prosaic Paris of train stations, *poste restante,* suburban paths, horse-drawn cabs, and cloakrooms into a forbidden bibliopolis. He refers to a number of specific locations and street addresses, combining real locations with coded ones.

Much of the action is set in the heart of Paris extending from the busy Grands Boulevards down to the rue de Rivoli, which were and still are the centers of finance, commerce, and tourism in the city.

Jacky is based in Paris and works at the Bourse. He offers an unforgettable image of himself walking the streets on his way to a tryst with Lily: "On my way to the Rue de Leipzig, where I was to meet Lily, I bought a light bamboo switch or riding-stick, preferring this to walking through the streets with a whip."[52] Lily, meanwhile, travels from Sonis to Paris to work for a milliner on the prestigious rue de la Paix leading up to the opera house. She also occasionally meets with clients at hotels on the rue de Rivoli.[53] In addition to their trysts at a secret apartment in Paris, Jacky and Lily together visit the fashionable cafés and resorts around l'Opéra Garnier and join the "riotous fun" on the Grands Boulevards on Shrove Tuesday. The Café de la Guerre at the corner of la place de l'Opéra is one of the cafés where Jacky and Lily meet on a few occasions.[54] Anyone familiar with the area would know that the Café de la Guerre is an ironic reference to the Café de la Paix. Opened in 1862 in the heart of Paris, it attracted artists and expatriates from around the world and its collection of international newspapers consolidated its reputation as one of the most literary and cosmopolitan cafés in Paris. Pascal Boissel describes its appeal in the period: "Initially a meeting-place for those who mourned the Empire, Le Café de la Paix, once the opera house opened, became the most fashionable restaurant in the neighborhood. An ideal place from which to observe the boulevards, it soon attracted artists, writers, journalists, rich foreigners, and people of the theater, opera and finance."[55]

Well-known French authors frequented the establishment, and Oscar Wilde and Arthur Conan Doyle were known to sit on the terrace facing the boulevards. "I am always ethical at the Café de la Paix," Wilde once wrote to his friend Robbie Ross.[56] Lily and Jacky also visit the American bar in the same building as the Café de la Guerre and known in certain guidebooks as the place where "la cocotte abonde" (easy women were in no short supply).[57] Occasionally Jacky and Lily drift away from the center to visit other Parisian attractions—the Trocadéro and l'Arc de Triomphe, the Bon Marché and both the Gare de l'Est and St. Lazare stations—but their activities are concentrated mostly in the center of Paris.[58] The Paris of *Suburban Souls* initially reads like a tourist's guide to the city. Yet even though the places named are not bookshops, printing firms, and publishing houses, they intriguingly correspond to Carrington's own stomping grounds. He ran his business from his apartment-office on rue du Faubourg Montmartre, which was just off the Grands Boulevards, and he mixed with the expatriate

literary community in the adjacent businesses and at places like the Café de la Paix. There appears to be some kind of overlay between Jacky's Paris and the Paris of Carrington and his inner circle.

In counterpoint to Paris is the eastern suburb where Lily and her family live—Sonis-sur-Marne. No such suburb existed, but Jacky provides enough clues for one to make conjectures. He indicates that the suburb "as all the world knows, is about twenty minutes ride by train from the Eastern station of Paris." Later, when he misses the train from Sonis, he mentions being "stranded about ten miles from Paris" and catching a brougham to Pantin, just outside the *périphérique* of Paris to the east. Another time, Jacky and Eric take the wrong train from Sonis going further east to Meaux.[59] A glance at a train itinerary from the period would suggest that Jacky's destination was actually Noisy-le-Sec, which had an important suburban railway station some nine-and-a-half miles from Paris.[60] "Sonis" also looks and sounds a little like "Noisy," but it is not on the Marne River. Though the book prompts the reader to decipher the code, it is possible that Sonis was not an actual suburb, but simply a symbol for one of the numerous suburbs popping up around Paris in the nineteenth century with the building of the Île-de-France railway network. The Paris suburb today, known as the banlieue, usually has a negative connotation, conjuring up images of riots linked to racial tensions, unemployment, and disaffected youth. But the suburb Jacky describes is an idyll of villas, bicycles, gardens, grandmothers . . . and family secrets. As described by the "old bibliophile" of *Forbidden Books,* "The title is strangely fantastic, and can hardly be called good English, for how can a soul be 'suburban?' But we recognize that the writer wishes us to understand that his characters are narrow-minded; it being generally supposed that the man who goes backwards and forwards by train or tram between his domicile and his business, carrying many parcels, is a creature of limited and petty ideas."[61] The "enormous parcels of books, novels and light literature" that Jacky carries are mostly of Carrington's Paris editions, which end up connecting city and suburb via train and telegraph in a pathologized distribution circuit.[62]

One of the key books caught up in the Paris–Sonis distribution circuit is *The Horn Book,* the very same book Jacky edits for Vanderpunk and which can be traced back to Carrington. Jacky describes how he dispatches the "smutty novelty" to Eric, who promises to "be careful to keep it out of Lilian's way" and "read it at his office" on rue Vissot, a fictitious street in Paris near the eastern

railway station. Jacky finds this promise "as quite unnecessary on his part," but turns the promise into an incest fantasy to while the time on one of his train trips back to Paris from Sonis. "During my little journey back to Paris," he writes, "I vaguely dreamt of Arvel and Adèle's daughter, reading "The Yellow Room" and "The Horn Book" together."[63] Jacky's incest fantasies subsequently turn to suspicion of an illicit father-daughter affair that he tracks through the exchange of *The Horn Book.* His suspicion begins with a disingenuous letter from Lily showing knowledge of the book without admitting to having read it. "I have still not caught sight of the famous book that you lent to Papa," she writes.[64] But Jacky then describes how he discovers the book at the Arvel's villa in Sonis. It had somehow made its way from Eric's office in Paris to the family home in Sonis where Lily would have access to it. As Jacky deduces,

> Papa told me he had read "The Horn Book," and liked it immensely. He asked me for some more, principally works on flagellation, and I promised to send him a parcel of books on that subject. . . .
>
> Just before I left, Papa brought me "The Horn Book," carefully wrapped up for me to take away.
>
> This work was to have remained hidden at his *bureau* in Paris. I now find it at his house!

After his discovery, while walking to the station with the Arvels to catch the train back to Paris, Jacky surreptitiously slips the book back to Lily:

> They accompanied me to the station and on the way I lagged behind and passed the parcel containing the book to Lilian. She was wearing a short tartan cloth cape, as the evening was chilly, so she slipped it under her arm. She was supposed not to have read it.
>
> Now this was the first edition of "The Horn Book," and as such was issued in large octavo size, printed on thick paper, and made up into a parcel, formed quite a bulky packet. On their way back to the house, Papa must have noticed that she held something hidden under her scanty mantle, and he could not have failed to see that when I shook hands with them on the railway platform I no longer held the parcel, and the pockets of the scanty covert-coat I was wearing were empty.[65]

On the face of things, the exchange of *The Horn Book* is a means to fantasize about, verify, and even provoke illicit social relations. Jacky's special attention to the furtive and risky mode of exchange bears further notice, however. His excitement in smuggling these

books back and forth between Paris and suburb and father and daughter suggests a certain Baudrillardian "ecstasy of communication and information," particularly concentrated on the forbidden and illicit cultural debris that passes through—albeit at the much slower Victorian pace of rail and post which are susceptible to missed connections, lost messages, and violent accidents.[66] The bibliographical detail about *The Horn Book* is also significant as it points to Carrington's first edition and the peculiar material qualities of his books. The first edition of *The Horn Book* was an octavo, printed by H. C. A. Thieme in Holland on thick laid paper with the facetious imprint "Paris, Société des Bibliophiles Étrangers, In the Street of Untouched Virgins." As Jacky notes, its large and unwieldy size threatens to give Jacky and Lily's secret exchange away and disrupt the suburban circuit. It is one of the clearest testimonies of the inassimilable materiality of Carrington's Paris editions. Although the suburban circuit of *The Horn Book* initially seems to be a way to prove incest, it also refers more broadly to the unwieldy things, both material and social, that pass through distribution flows. The incest mystery, in other words, provides a plot for the material social practice of smuggling Paris editions, which can be bibliographically traced back to Carrington.[67]

The Horn Book is not the only pornographic book that Jacky passes through the suburban circuit. He also follows the movement of *The Romance of Lust, Flossie, The Yellow Room, Colonel Spanker's Lecture, The Convent School, The Memoirs of Dolly Morton,* and other titles at various points in his diary. These were stock pornographic novels being published and circulated by Carrington and other Paris dealers around the turn of the century.[68] Jacky lends four volumes of *The Romance of Lust* to Eric, tracking its whereabouts in "Papa's study" and "little library" at his suburban villa; he purposely forgets the volumes at the Arvels' while "hoping that it might furnish an incident for my book"; and finally he examines the book when it is returned to him in Paris by post, to discover Papa's dirty finger marks on subjects on which he has also heard Lily speak: "the corners of several pages have been turned down, and one which has been so treated with very dirty fingers—page 72, vol. II."[69] Jacky also makes bibliographical remarks on the book, noting that the four-volume "book is rare and worth a trifle"[70]and thus overlaying the incest plot with actual books circulating in the pornographic book trade.

Jacky lends another valuable book to Lily, the "original edition

of *Justine et Juliette* (by the notorious Marquis de Sade, in 10 parts, with 101 engravings)," and again follows its progress through the suburban circuit.[71] He delivers volume by volume by train to Sonis hoping to see how the exchange of the French novel may prove father-daughter incest.[72] "Oh! that book!" Lily says of the first volume, "I have not slept for reading it. I roll about my bed, and bite my pillow, and I am forced to relieve myself with my finger. I could not help it."[73] That the exchange of these books always has the potential to reveal forbidden knowledge or erupt in violence is evident in one striking scene when Jacky misses the train from Sonis and must walk back to Paris with a bundle of five pornographic books in hand: "Through the blinding rain, I ran to the station. The last train had left, just five minutes before and I was stranded ten miles from Paris. . . . To be stabbed, or thrown into a river or a canal, for a few pounds, is not very nice, I thought of this, as I stumbled along all in the dark, my little parcel of books in my hand, and Lily's money in my pocket. I lost my way, regained it, slipped and fell in the mud, and as I picked myself up, saw a carriage approaching." Making his way past "two infamous inns" and a "ferocious dog," Jacky finally finds his way back to Paris, but not before checking his parcel of books that he carried through the rain and mud from Sonis to Paris: "Before getting into bed at about three in the morning, I opened the parcel and looked through the books. In 'Flossie' and 'The Yellow Room,' I found several heavy, black thumbmarks. Papa, beyond a doubt, had read these volumes with Lily."[74] The rain, the mud, the dog, the inns, and Papa's black thumbprints point metonymically to the dangers of the suburban circuit as well as the impurity and disorderliness of its distribution flows. As the drug traffic shows, once an illegal distribution channel opens up, a mix of illicit materials and practices pass through the same path—drugs, arms, organs, people, and, to quote Theodor Adorno, the "iron stigmata" and "wandering cannonballs" of culture.[75] As Jacky deepens his search into the incest mystery, he registers both excitement and alarm over the mixed distribution flows through the suburban circuit.

The repeated references to the distribution of Carrington's books, as well as the material specificity about edition, paper, and size, suggest that the suburban circuit of incest and pornogaphy that Jacky charts is an allegory for Carrington's expatriate business and its investment in the new technologies of information and communication to open "the secret cabinet of history" kept "under lock and key."[76] The diary's widening of the suburban circuit to other

cities in Europe—such as Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Nice, Monaco, Cologne, Brussels, and London—further implies the larger international implications of this trade. Carrington's business in books from abroad capitalized on the disruption of the normative networks of communication and socialization. Whether it is a confession, fiction, fantasy, or a combination of all three, *Suburban Souls* is a testament of Carrington's material social practice in Paris.

The Reading Lesson

In addition to reimagining the literary field and pornographic book distribution through strange shadowy signs of incest, Jacky's diary offers rare portraits of nineteenth-century readers of pornography. We encounter Lily daydreaming "naughty" things while reading on the train, Papa reading in his office, or the two of them reading at the villa.[77] Little is known about nineteenth-century readers of pornography beyond D. H. Lawrence's description of the "old grey ones" working at the Home Office.[78] Some information can be gleaned from diaries from the period. In the anonymous eleven-volume diary *My Secret Life,* Walter used John Cleland's notorious eighteenth-century novel *Fanny Hill* to seduce a servant into bed.[79] Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone's multivolume personal diaries are even a richer source of information. They show his familiarity with pornography in an assortment of languages.[80] Reading in *Suburban Souls* is equally far ranging and indiscriminate, and it is practiced by more than one figure: there is Jacky, Lily and her father, and finally the extradiegetic reader who is repeatedly addressed. More often than not this practice is framed within a reading lesson, to borrow the title of Patrick Brantlinger's book on nineteenth-century literacy.[81] And this lesson inevitably focuses on reading intertextually and incestually in order to delve into "the secret cabinet of history."

Jacky's role as a reader is already established. He cites and alludes to a variety of authors in both French and English; he translates most of documents, combining the work of reading and writing; and he uses literature that he has read as source material for his own life. His authorship similarly hinges on his reading practices. He even writes with the idea of reading his own work. Reading his own confession was the impetus for continuing his writing, he revealingly admits to Lily:

> I told her that the history of Jacky and Lilian was as strange as a penny novelette.
>
> "A novelette?" replied dear Clara, by return of post, "say rather a real three-volume novel! You write very nice letters, Jacky, why don't you put your adventures into a book?"
>
> "I gradually got used to the thought of making the whole story of Lily, as far as I knew it, in book form. I counted my puppets. There were Papa, Mamma, Raoul, Charlotte, Lily and the author.[82]

As a consequence, Jacky alters his behavior in order to "furnish an incident" for his book: he asks Lily to return some documents in order to "make a fair copy" for his book, admitting "the idea that I was living a future volume and building up my novel kept me buoyant."[83] "What fun for me you both are!," he later writes about his depictions of Eric and Lily, "It is grand to be able to read you all here, wanting for nothing, caring for nothing, and telling you all I think of you."[84] It is eventually unclear whether Jacky's diary records or produces the incestuous mystery in which he becomes entangled, but regardless he positions himself as reader of his own work. "I saw it all in print," he says, and indeed it eventually materialized into print through Carrington.[85]

Taking on the dual roles as author and reader, Jacky goes deeper than *Lolita's* Humbert Humbert into the intertextual game. He textualizes his reading practice at various points in the diary, in a sense leaving his own greasy thumbprints, like Eric, for other readers to follow. He describes how he underscores "all the erotic passages" of Pierre Louÿs's *La Femme et le pantin* (1898), marks "in pencil" certain passages on incest in Carrington's edition of the sexological text *The Ethnology of the Sixth Sense,* underlines "with red pencil all paragraphs that seemed to have a bearing on illicit connections between fathers and daughters, or brothers and sisters," and frames yet another article with "crimson dashes."[86] In adding this kind of marginalia, Jacky demonstrates how he sets out his intertextual and incestual method for reading and interpreting different kinds of literature. More important, by transforming this reading practice into a form of interlinear writing, he puts Walter Benjamin's historiographic notion of "reading what was never written" into practice. It is a strategy, Benjamin argues, to uncover the kind of history that usually remains untold.[87]

Jacky also learns how to use this same methodology to read other hands than his own. The letters between Jacky and Lily wherein they discuss literature and incest make up the bulk of his diary.

The drama of distance and proximity particular to the love letter is expressed through the interplay of handwriting and typewriting. Jacky corresponds with Lily "in a disguised hand," often "in a feigned lady's handwriting"; Lily, on the other hand being "very quick with her Papa's Remington," sometimes relies on the typewriter, in one instance when her "right hand is damaged" from a dog bite and in another instance when incapacitated from a mosquito bite. Lily tellingly writes to Jacky, "I use the type-writer to-day, so as to punish you a little," revealing how the typed letter connotes emotional distance and insincerity. For Jacky, who recalls the "disabled hand from the bite of a mosquito," these typed missives serve as important indices of sexual perversion and suburban incest.[88] He also links them back to her Papa, reinterpreting the disabled hand as the incestuous hand: he writes, for example, "Most of the letters from Sonis were type-written, and I could nearly always tell whether the father or the girl had used the machine to write to me, as there were slight differences in the writings."[89]

Jacky also shares his reading practice with Lily and Eric with whom he exchanges letters and marked-up books. These lessons begin with Lily as he encourages her to read widely and indiscriminately by supplying her a variety of books. They also engage in literary discussions. He gives her *The Yellow Room,* to which she responds, "I have finished reading "The Yellow Room." The effect produced by this book upon me was terrible. Nevertheless, there is one thing that I found rather grotesque; it is the way in which the future betrothed makes love to Alice. It is quite in the modern style, is it not?"[90] Jacky also gives her Robert de Louis's French novel *L'Anneau* (1898) to read, along with the Marquis de Sade's *Justine,* again guiding her intertextual reading while also continuing to educate her on the "modern style." As he writes,

> I started from Paris with a novel for Lilian, called *L'Anneau,* as the subject treated of a young girl who falls in love, but her sweetheart fights shy of her because she is a virgin. So she throws herself in the arms of a cool, debauched rake, who is quite surprised to find she is a maid, but he violates her speedily and, fearful of the responsibility, never sees her again, but the man for whom she has done this also discards her. Another lover now comes after her, but he is sentimental and proposes marriage. She accepts, hiding from him the fact that she is no longer intact. Through the boasting indiscretion of her seducer, as I call him out of politeness, the would-be bridegroom finds out her deceit and reproaches her bitterly. The curiosity of the novel is in the

> up-to-date manner in which it concludes. In the old sentimental days of my youth, the author would have rushed to suicide as a wind-up; here the young man takes the heroine to be his mistress and we leave him buttoning the girl's boots after a scene of sensuality in the middle of the day. I also kept Lilian supplied with the volumes of "Justine."[91]

Lily's stepfather Eric eventually becomes a part of these reading lessons. Jacky begins imagining them "read[ing] all [his] obscene books together," but then starts up a separate literary correspondence with Eric.[92] Although she is the "wicked woman" central to the diary, Lily gradually disappears as the two men engage in a literary discussion about women authors, authenticity, and psychological truism. While emphasizing the new premium on what is "true" and "real," Jacky and Eric refer to a variety of books, many already cited earlier in the diary. Eric compares Daniel Defoe's *Moll Flanders,* Paul Bonnetain's *Charlot s'amuse, The Double Life, The Romance of Lust, Confessions of a Nemesis Hunt,* John Cleland's *Fanny Hill, L'École des Biches,* and the Earl of Rochester's poetry as he underscores the importance of authenticity.[93] Jacky responds with his own "humble opinion of erotic recollections in print." He refers to the *Memoirs of Dolly Morton,* the *Confessions of a Nemesis Hunt, Memoirs of Casanova,* and de Louis's *Le Partage du coeur,*[94] mixing French and English literature, popular serialized fiction, and clandestine books, and concludes with an extended commentary on *Le Partage du coeur* as the new standard of erotic writing:

> I must ask you, if you take in "Le Journal," to cast your eye over the feuilleton: "Le Partage du Coeur," where you will find a good model of psychological writing, where the author seeks to penetrate into the innermost souls of his sensual characters and show the motives, desires, jealousies, etc., that sway them. The adventures should be presented so as to demonstrate the peculiarities of passion, and the downright filthy part only becomes readable when it falls naturally into its place as the outcome of circumstances previously sketched, and which should be out of the common, as rapid sordid encounters and swiftly-ended *passades* with prostitutes are not of the slightest value.[95]

Jacky's commentary insists on the importance of authenticity and offers a guide to intertextual reading amidst the surfeit of "impossible tales" "written to order."

Eric ultimately refuses to follow this reading practice, however, writing, "I do not read any *feuilleton.* I lack the necessary patience to await the *suite a demain.*" His refusal marks the end of their

correspondence and the end of the diary. Thus the book draws on the incest fantasy to build up its model of the literary family, but not everyone remains a willing participant. The possibility of resistant and excluded readers is introduced, and so too the sublimated sexual violence central to his incest-based model of intertextuality. We might recall Lily's repeated cry "you hurt me" throughout the diary and her refusal to play along when she cries, "I'll not have you call me your daughter, nor your child. I do not like those terms of affection now. . . . I won't call you Papa any more."[96]

And what of the extradiegetic reader if he, or perhaps she, makes it to the end of the reading lesson? Even as Jack activates the reader in the opening pages of his diary, he himself introduces a certain doubt about whether he or she will make it to the end: "my greatest reward will be if the reader, on finishing the memoir—supposing that he does finish it—exclaims: 'I should think it is all true!' And if lady readers gibe bitterly at the author, and say it is a tissue of falsehood and utterly impossible, then my triumph will be complete."[97] As in *Lolita,* the reader is invited into "the tissue" of *Suburban Souls,* coaxed and dared to participate in Jacky's perverse literary family and Carrington's bibliopolis of 1900 to which it repeatedly points. Not every reader will decipher this tissue, and perhaps many will refuse to do so, but the lessons on how to read and combine what was never written remain.

Anticipatory Modernism

In *A Study of Erotic Literature in England* (1943), the British book collector Charles Reginald Dawes offered a surprisingly positive assessment of *Suburban Souls:* "It is exceptionally well written, and really is an elaborate psychological study. It has considerable literary merit, and may even be regarded as the forerunner of *Lady Chatterley's Lover,* though I do not suppose for one moment that Lawrence ever saw it." He did qualify his remarks somewhat, also adding that "it is too long, too elaborately analytical, and is by no means easy to read for long at a time, becoming tiring, monotonous, even boring."[98] Dawes was not the only reader to discuss Jacky's diary comparatively. "As a study of neurotic sexual infatuation," Richard Manton writes, "*Suburban Souls* has far more in common with the mature imagination of Proust or Henry James than with the run of the mill pornographic novel."[99] Both scholars' readings are in keeping with the intertextual logic of *Suburban Souls,* which

mixes Shakespeare with de Sade, and both are arguably incited by the intertextual prompts of *Suburban Souls* and its approach to literary culture as an unseemly literary family. Dawes and Manton focus on the psychological aspects of the works in question, but they could also have pointed to other shared formal features, such as the use of quotation, allusion, paratext, foreign words, and obscenity, and the urge to experiment for the sake of novelty and modernity. But at the heart of their intertextuality was an historical intuition: they recognized the continuity between Victorian pornography and modernist writing.

Reading *Suburban Souls* as a forerunner to literary modernism allows us to pull into context the larger history of Paris editions. Dawes and Manton point to the literary continuities where breaks have usually been seen, rereading history against the grain. In *Modernism, Mass Culture, and the Aesthetics of Obscenity,* Allison Pease discusses how many modernist writers were able to write explicitly about sex by distancing themselves from Victorian pornography. Even though these writers drew on the tropes and sexual knowledge available in Victorian pornography, they worked to aestheticize sex in their writing and distinguish literature from pornography.[100] Lawrence's essay on "Pornography and Obscenity" exemplifies this kind of modernist purification of the literary field as it rejects both Victorianism and pornography as the "dirty little secret" of culture. But what Dawes and Manton stumbled upon in *Suburban Souls* was an anticipatory alternative modernist current which did not have a purist aesthetic or literary politics. This current is evident in James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922), for instance, which revels in unseemly literary intertextuality as Homeric epic convenes with Sacher-Masoch's Venus and the ubiquitous Lovebirch.[101] There was a material basis to this current, as we have already seen with the overlapping publishing histories of modernist classics and Victorian pornography in Paris. In drawing a connection between *Suburban Souls* and *Lady Chatterley Lover* (1928), Dawes and Manton had a flash of historical intuition. If we borrow Walter Benjamin's concept of history as a dialectical image of past and present, we might say that they glimpsed the truth of Paris editions as they flit by and flashed up "at the moment of its recognizability."[102] They stumbled upon "the dirty little secret" of British literary history—its expatriate production which began with Carrington and whose future literary history was in some ways encoded for readers in this forbidden diary of an incestuous literary family.

CHAPTER 7

TELENY, THE 1890s, AND CHARLES HIRSCH'S "NOTICE BIBLIOGRAPHIQUE," 1934

Teleny or the Reverse of the Medal, A Physiological Romance of To-Day (1893) is another pornographic novel that is an important, albeit contested, record of the history of Paris editions.[1] It is the tragic and libidinous love story of two men, Camille Des Grieux and René Teleny, set in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and influenced by Abbé Prévost's *Manon Lescaut* (1731), a French novel about star-crossed love, money, and infidelity.[2] Teleny looks back in time and place to create a Decadent phantasmagoria for its male lovers, making it markedly different in theme and tone from the forward-looking *Suburban Souls.* It is also a much more entertaining book to read. It was in circulation during the 1890s a few years before the publication of *Suburban Souls* and the rise of Paris editions, but a sensational story about the novel's publication surfaced in the 1930s which purported to reveal its unusual textual conditions and suggested how it too was caught up in the expatriation of the English sex book from London to Paris.

In 1934 the French bookseller-publisher Charles Hirsch pub-

lished clandestinely the first French translation of the novel. Included in his two-volume edition of *Teleny: Étude physiologique* was his "Notice bibliographique extraite des notes et souvenirs d'un vieux bibliopole," which relayed the story of the novel's composition and publication history.[3] Hirsch claimed that a group of men used his French bookshop in London, the Librairie Parisienne, to exchange the working manuscript of *Teleny*. One night sometime in 1890, when the manuscript was less sedulously packaged, he read it in full, noticing its obscenity, but also the many different hands involved in the composition. Most remarkably, he claims that Oscar Wilde, the celebrated playwright, was the mastermind behind the round-robin project, having been the one to broach Hirsch about using the Librairie Parisienne as the drop-off site. In 1893, after a few years of hearing nothing further, Hirsch came across a clandestine publication of the novel, renamed *Teleny*, or *The Reverse of the Medal, A Physiological Romance of To-day,* which he reveals was published by Leonard Smithers, the infamous publisher to the Decadents. He noticed that a number of changes had been made: most importantly, the novel's action was relocated from London to Paris. Hirsch subsequently met Smithers at the Exposition Universelle de Paris in 1900 and asked him about the revisions and excisions; Smithers explained that he had not wanted to shock "l'amour-propre national" (national pride) of his English subscribers. When Hirsch finally published his French edition of the novel in 1934, more than forty years later, he restored the text's original setting and added an *avant-propos* as well as a few new passages. Ironically, then, although the London edition was set in Paris, the Paris edition was set in London.[4]

Almost every contemporary edition of *Teleny* recounts Hirsch's story, usually offering literary and biographical arguments for Wilde's authorship while pointing to similarities in style, wit, imagery, and theme between *Teleny* and Wilde's writing.[5] Scholars have also debated the question of Wilde's involvement: Richard Ellmann's authoritative biography of Wilde does not even mention the novel; most recently Robert Gray and Christopher Keep have suggested a collaborative queer authorship.[6] No records exist to prove Wilde's involvement definitively. Neither his papers nor those of his close contemporaries refer to the novel or Hirsch's French bookshop. The only evidence is a passing reference to the novel years later by Wilde's son Vyvyan Holland. The question of Wilde's authorship is fascinating and important; however, it has obscured Hirsch's disclosures

about the novel's secret publication history, namely its ten-year journey from a French bookshop in London's Piccadilly-Soho district to the phantasmagoric exposition grounds in Paris, and his revelations about the larger history of Paris editions.

Instead of trying to uncover *Teleny*'s secret author, then, I first retrace and extend Hirsch's map of the novel's secret trafficking from hand to hand, shop to street, and Channel to fairground during the fin de siècle. His "Notice," I contend, is an important historical document that deepens our knowledge of how the pornographic book trade moved from London to Paris at a time when there was also a larger technocultural shift away from books to visual pornography. Second, I read Hirsch's 1934 version of *Teleny* in relation to the textual conditions his "Notice" lays bare. My reading relies on Jerome McGann's insights about the multiple variants of almost every text and the shades of social meaning that these variants reveal. At the same time, I answer McGann's call for a "materialist hermeneutics," though I am less interested in the "bibliographical codes" of Hirsch's *Teleny* (such as paper, printer's marks, typefaces, ink) than with the layers of topographical codes that reveal the volatile publishing ecology that informed his text.[7] Reading Hirsch's 1934 restored version of *Teleny* through his bibliographical "Notice" puts the textual conditions of the 1890s and 1930s into interesting conversation and historiographic juxtaposition. His bibliographical claims are not without their problems and detractors, but the more interesting question to ask is why he looked back at this history forty years later. What were the motives behind his restoration of *Teleny* and his revelations in the "Notice"? Why did the publishing history of a 1890s book matter in 1934? And how might we read his editorial work as a kind of restorative historiography of Paris editions conditioned by expatriate literary modernism?

Teleny*'s Early Publishing History, circa 1890–1906*

I start with a scholarly wager. If we accept Hirsch's claims about the composition and publication of *Teleny* in the 1890s, what might further historical research into the people, shops, streets, and fairgrounds he mentions uncover? What might this research reveal about the textual conditions of this novel and the pornographic book trade that kept it in circulation? Serious scholarly inquiry into Hirsch's "Notice" does reveal, if only partially, the cultural geography and publishing and social networks that sustained the traffick-

ing of three early versions of *Teleny* in London and then in Paris. In turn, these three versions, from the lost 1890 manuscript, to Smithers's 1893 London edition that sold for five guineas, to the 1906 Paris reprint, textualize the rise of Paris editions.[8]

Hirsch's "Notice" begins with the Librairie Parisienne, the French bookshop that was the initial site of exchange for the working manuscript of *Teleny*. Information about his business reconstructed from newspaper reports, advertisements, post office directories, city guides, and personal diaries, sheds some light on why a group of men might have chosen his shop for the exchange of their forbidden manuscript. Located on Coventry Street, in 4 Prince's Buildings, the Librairie Parisienne had a connection to the pornographic book trade even before Hirsch. As early as 1886, Victor Hubert owned a French bookshop at the same address and was prosecuted for selling French-language books that were deemed obscene.[9] Four years later, Céline Subtil was prosecuted for doing the same from the same address, though the charges were dropped.[10] Subtil's prosecution for obscenity suggests the bookshop's reputation just before Hirsch became the proprietor. Her defense, moreover, recalled the sensational prosecution of the aged Covent Garden publisher-bookseller Henry Vizetelly, who had been charged with obscenity for his English editions of Emile Zola's novels.[11] Her defense thus strategically stirred up the debates about pornography, realism, and French sexual license that the Vizetelly affair had spectacularly raised. Subtil's connection with Vizetelly's business is important, particularly because he was at the center of another scandal just a few months before her trial when a sting operation against a man suspected of disseminating pornographic books and photographs ultimately led back to his shop. A representative of the National Vigilance Association (NVA) broached a man to obtain a copy of *The Priapeia* (1888, 1890), a collection of bawdy classical facetiae that had been translated by Sir Richard Burton and his collaborator-publisher Smithers (the same Smithers who published *Teleny* in 1893). This man led the NVA representative to an employee at Vizetelly's bookshop who sold him copies of "Vizetelly's defence," French novels, including Zola's *Nana,* and "indecent Japanese prints." Vizetelly was not implicated in the charges that followed; however, his shop was clearly a meeting place for illicit trade in upscale pornographic books and prints.[12] These records lend credibility to Hirsch's story about *Teleny*'s exchange at the nearby Librairie Parisienne. By the early 1890s, these sources

show, his bookshop was associated with jurisprudence, French realism, Vizetelly's shop, and upscale pornography of a literary and esoteric nature and was a likely rendezvous point for a group of men with continental tastes and delinquent disposition.

Hirsch's origins are obscure, as we have seen. How he got involved in the pornographic book trade, why he immigrated to London, and where he got his capital to run his own bookshop and become a sometime-publisher all remain unknown. Around the year 1890, after having previously worked for Subtil, he took over the Librairie Parisienne.[13] Though no picture of his West End bookshop seems to have survived, we are fortunate to have a few contemporary accounts of it. A magazine from the period described it as the literary equivalent of a French *patisserie:*

> Everyone knows "Librairie Parisienne" of Mr. Charles Hirsch in Coventry-street. Its window is gay and appetizing to a degree: it is a reflection of literary Paris. The yellow and white covers and *chic* designs are a perpetual invitation to cross the street. Here *Ramuntcho* and *Recommencements* and *L'Orme du Mail* and *Le Jardin Secret* just now invite your custom. Here the beautiful little volumes of the *Petite Collection Guillaume* look like delicate literary sweetmeats; among them Shakespeare's *Le Songe d'un Nuit d'été,* and Byron's *Le Corsaire et Lara,* and Dickens's *Le Grillon du Foyer.*[14]

Richard Le Gallienne, a writer who moved in Wilde's circle in the 1890s, suggested that the bookshop also stood for a certain moral and sexual license. The "charming little French book-shop in Coventry Street" was, for him, "a sort of Zoar in our Puritanic Egypt."[15] Hirsch himself positioned his bookshop as a bastion of Parisian literary culture ready to challenge British puritanism and obscenity laws. He would have been well aware of the risks he took in selling French novels from this address, given the bookshop's history with the police, but he brazenly advertised French editions of Zola's novels among his "belles éditions modernes," and "publications de luxe," as though he were provoking the authorities to imprison him as they had Vizetelly (fig 7.1).[16]

And yet Hirsch appears not to have been above attempting to blackmail rich clientele who had compromised themselves. His encounters with Prime Minister William E. Gladstone are an important indication of the illustrious figures who frequented his foreign bookshop, the risks they took in so doing, and the cultural geography of *Teleny*'s textual history. On May 10, 1892, Hirsch sent

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7.1. Charles Hirsch's advertisement for the Librairie Parisienne, *Athenaeum*, February 20, 1892.

a strange letter to Gladstone: it was written in French and asked for his help. The police had raided his French bookshop and had seized some of his books. Most of these books, he claimed, were established classics or by leading French authors of the day such as Guy de Maupassant, Alphonse Daudet, Paul Bourget, and Octave Feuillet. Hirsch styled himself a victim of a moral crusade against French novels at a time when no French-language book had ever been condemned in a court, and British obscenity law was not clear on the matter of foreign literature. Hirsch's letter was polite, even somewhat obsequious, but a cryptic note added by Gladstone's secretary casts some doubt on Hirsch's intentions: "C. Hirsch. Is being threatened with another prosecution for selling improper French books—the previous one failing—asks y. aid (Curious letter. You have dealt at his bookshop in Coventry St.)."[17]

What would make Hirsch think that he, an obscure expatriate bookseller, could persuade the prime minister to help him with a relatively minor legal problem? Since the publication of his multivolume personal diaries, Gladstone's struggles with the temptations of prostitution and pornography have been public knowledge. His diaries reveal that his rescue work with prostitutes was a necessary part of his existence from his student days at Oxford to his octogenarian years. Gladstone and his wife helped found a number of charitable refuges for prostitutes, but he was also known to patrol the streets of London's West End at night. He would talk with young prostitutes, visit their lodgings, and sometimes even entered brothels to undertake his charity work. His nighttime confabulations always threatened to erupt into political scandal. One night in 1853, a man witnessed Gladstone talking with a prostitute on Coventry Street, the same street where the Librairie Parisienne was later located. He trailed them back to her lodgings, waited for Gladstone to come back out, and then threatened him with exposure. The blackmailer's extortion attempt was unsuccessful as Gladstone reported him to the authorities.[18] Around thirty years later, when Gladstone was prime minister, scandal erupted again when a Conservative MP from the opposing party saw him talking with an "abandoned woman" and leaving with her in the direction of Piccadilly Circus. Gladstone's private secretary Edward Hamilton undertook damage control and begged the prime minister to stop his nighttime (e)missions.[19] But Gladstone continued his rescue work well into old age and up until the 1890s when Hirsch had his French bookshop. Gladstone undertook his philanthropic

work with prostitutes openly and unapologetically, but his diaries reveal the sexual and religious conflicts that drove him. He would revert to a foreign language or code when reflecting on his temptations. Visits with the beautiful young prostitute Elizabeth Collins in July 1851, for example, led him to self-flagellate, which he recorded in his diary with a symbol that resembled a whip:

> (July 13)
> Went with a note to E.C.s—received (unexpectedly) & remained two hours: a strange & humbling scene—returned &⅄.
>
> (July 15)
> Fell in with E.C. & another mixed scene somewhat like that of 48 hours before—⅄ afterwards.
>
> (July 21)
> Saw E.C. again in the same manner: and did not⅄ afterwards: thinking there was a change.
>
> (July 23)
> I then in a singular way hit upon E.C.: two more hours, strange, questionable, or more: followed by⅄. Whether or not I have been deluded in the notion of doing good by such means, or whether I have sought it through what was unlawful I am not clear. God grant however not for my sake that the good may be done.[20]

Prayer, rescue work, and scourge were the metronome of Gladstone's life in his dark periods. Did Hirsch know about his secret vice?

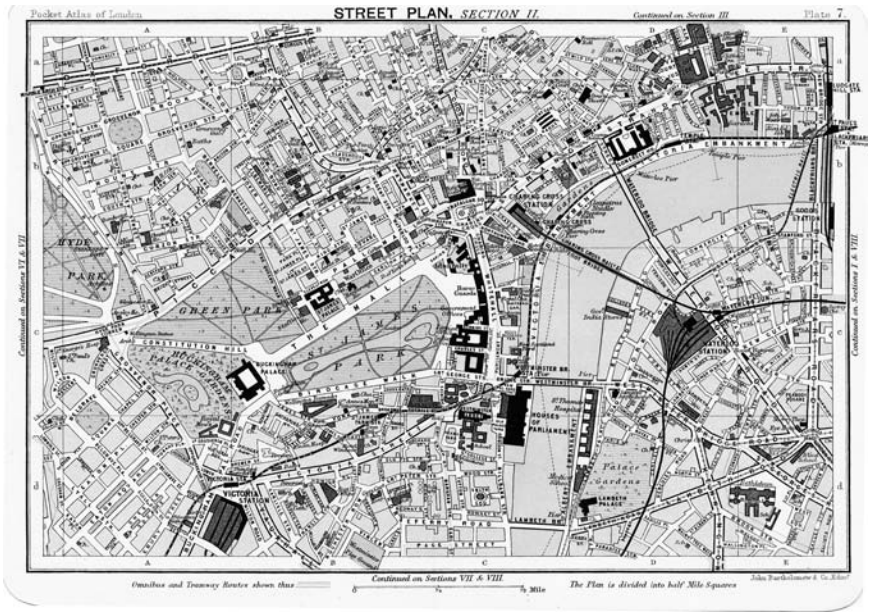
Gladstone's diaries also show his familiarity with pornography in an assortment of languages. As a younger man, he would write in Italian his feelings about French pornography, describing how he "drank the poison" with shame and disgust. In his eighties, he was still reading the pornography of the day. He read French literature about mistresses, prostitutes, and sexual physiology in publications that were often condemned as obscene when they were translated into English. He also read *Venus la Populaire* (1881), a defense of prostitution that had been recently published by Belgian pornographers Gay and Doucé, as well as an English publication with the dubious title *Phallic Worship* (1886), which he noted was "not a sincere book."[21]

In short, more than a love of French literature likely brought Gladstone to Hirsch's Librairie Parisienne. He seems to have been oblivious to political danger, so it is not surprising that he entered

the notorious bookshop. Perhaps he came across it while carrying on his nighttime rescue work. Perhaps he heard about Hirsch from the other booksellers in the area who dealt in high-end pornography. Perhaps Hirsch was the supplier of the French and English pornography that he read and recorded in his diaries. Hirsch's intentions in writing to Gladstone also cannot be known for certain. Did he consider Gladstone an ally or a target? He might have viewed Gladstone as a fellow literary and sexual radical. Yet he also presumed to know Gladstone's personal feelings on the matter and wrote that he did not doubt for an instant that he had his sympathy: "je ne doute pas un seul instant que votre sentiment intime ne soit tout en faveur de cette cause."[22] (I do not doubt for a single moment that your personal feelings lie wholly in favor of this cause.) Did Hirsch believe that he had leverage over the prime minister—because of the pornography, the prostitutes, or the self-flagellation?

Gladstone made a note in his diary that he replied to Hirsch two days after receiving the letter: his actual reply has not survived.[23] Hirsch was not charged with selling obscenity on this occasion, but it is not known if the prime minister intervened on his behalf. Whether or not Hirsch intended to blackmail Gladstone, his letter reveals more than a relationship between a French pornographer and a British prime minister. It also gives credence to Hirsch's claim that he supplied Wilde with Socratic literature as well as other pornographic books procured with difficulty. His letter discloses the larger Anglo-French culture wars over literature, sexuality, and pornography that brought diverse figures such as Hirsch, Wilde, and Gladstone to a little French bookshop in the West End in the 1890s—whether in fact or fancy.

If we move outside Hirsch's bookshop to Coventry Street itself, we can deepen our knowledge of the cultural geography and pornographic book trade determining *Teleny*'s textual conditions through the 1890s (fig. 7.2). Coventry Street was an important west–east corridor between Piccadilly Circus and Leicester Square. In 1881, it was widened from forty to sixty feet as part of numerous metropolitan improvements at the time that also saw the completion in 1886 of Shaftesbury Avenue, a major artery between Piccadilly and Bloomsbury. In writings about London in the period, these massive rebuilding projects were absorbed into a larger discourse about the vanishing of the old city in place of the new.[24] Despite these improvements, Coventry Street was still narrow, particularly at night when the theaters let out. Photographs and records confirm that it was a



7.2. "Street Plan," *The Pocket Guide and Atlas to London* by J. G. Bartholomew (London: John Walker, 1900).

busy and congested street, where pedestrians jostled up against others, competed with street traffic, and navigated the broken pavement, especially around Leicester Square.[25] It was a hectic and intervallic passageway through one of the busiest and oldest parts of London, a blend of old and new buildings and commerce.

The shops, businesses, and people sharing Coventry Street with Hirsch's French bookshop give an indication of the street's distinctive culture in the 1890s. Over the years, a number of businesses came and went: restaurants, cafés, oyster rooms, clubs, bookshops, tailors, theatrical agents, and moneychangers. These were flanked by more stable businesses in the area such as Lambert & Company (goldsmiths) and the Prince of Wales Theatre, built on the corner of Coventry Street and Oxendon Street in 1884. Although respectable businesses operated on the street, it was also associated with nighttime entertainment. Newspapers regularly carried police reports of incidents in the streets, shops, and theater—fighting, larceny, money scams. The French Café du Globe was often the center of police investigations and legal proceedings. There were reports of assaults, and it was targeted when the London street riots of

February 8, 1886, took advantage of "the unprotected state of the streets."[26] This small café-restaurant at 3 & 4 Coventry Street, on the other end and the opposite side of the street from Hirsch's shop, was one of the heterotopias on the busy city corridor that offered a brief escape from Englishness, good behavior, and normative sexuality. There were also reports of female prostitutes taking up rooms on and parading in the street. The three-volume erotic memoir, *My Secret Life* (c. 1888–1894), often refers to them, and as early as 1887, before Hirsch became proprietor of the Librairie Parisienne, but while Gladstone was stomping the streets on his nightly missions, an article in the *Times* also alluded to the problem prostitution posed to respectable tradesmen in the vicinity.[27] The character of the street had not changed by 1900 when the police arrested three women for "keeping and assisting in the management of 2, Prince-chambers [in the buildings adjacent to Hirsch's shop] as a disorderly house."[28]

Coventry Street was also a corridor where there was a heady combination of old and new media spectacles to be experienced by the passerby. The street was commercially invested in the past and its traditional media forms. In addition to Hirsch's shop, other specialty bookshops appeared on the street at the end of the century, predominately foreign booksellers. Most important was Robson and Kerslake's second-hand bookshop at 23 Coventry Street.[29] It specialized in rare and antiquarian books, from obscure fifteenth-century manuscripts to original drawings by George Cruikshank. The shop's representatives appeared at the most prestigious auctions held by Christie and Sotheby, bidding alongside the most eminent collectors and dealers of the day, including Bernard Quaritch, who had the best-known antiquarian bookstore in London about two minutes from Coventry Street at 15 Piccadilly.[30] In the heart of Coventry Street, Robson and Kerslake was a bastion for books: it fetishized the collectible amidst the frenetic streets. Like Hirsch, Robson and Kerslake also sold and occasionally published pornography. In his work on clandestine publishing in England in the nineteenth century, Peter Mendes discovered that this bookshop had connections with the Holywell Street book trade and also sold Smithers's dubious publications.[31] Isabel Burton, the wife of Sir Richard Burton, certainly suspected the firm of scurrilous business activity. In a letter to her solicitors regarding Smithers's new edition of her late husband's translation of *The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night* (1885–86), she mentions Robson and Kerslake, along with the

bookseller-publisher Edward Avery, as among those who would sell his unexpurgated edition that included "that one disgusting chapter" on pederasty.[32] In linking Smithers, Avery, and Robson and Kerslake, Isabel Burton confirms the complex relationship between the antiquarian book world and the quarter's pornographic book trade. Hirsch, moreover, was likely aware of Robson and Kerslake's sideline: it was he who informed Guillaume Apollinaire and the other editors of *L'Enfer de la Bibliothèque nationale* about their publication of the pornographic novel *Gynecocracy* (1893).[33]

Coventry Street also offered more than one type of racy media experience: everything from books, theater, poetry, pre-film technologies, and very early film could be found there. Clubs readily showcased the latest technical novelty. The New Lyric Club, which from 1888 shared the same building as the Prince of Wales Theatre between Oxendon Street and Whitcomb Street, not only had special fantasy rooms, such as the Egyptian Room and the Bamboo Room for the armchair traveler, but also hosted smoking concerts, where early films (possibly erotic ones) were sometimes shown.[34] The combination of old-time colonial phantasmagoria and novelty visual media suggests the competing media experiences on Coventry Street, especially in the realm of pleasure. The Prince of Wales Theatre, which attracted its share of trouble with reports of violent fracases among the actors, also offered more than the usual theatrical entertainment. To attract audiences to its performances, it used mutoscopes (machines invented in the 1890s that showed sequences of images to create the impression of movement). It may have got the idea from the London & District Mutoscope Co., which had opened shop on the street sometime after 1895.[35] In late 1900, the manager of the Prince of Wales Theatre appeared before the court on charges of "wilfully obstructing the free passage of the footway by exhibiting certain pictures." The manager had arranged with a mutoscope company to exhibit moving scenes from the play, presumably the comedy, *English Nell,* which was being performed that season. A crowd of onlookers began obstructing the footway. The court's judgment bears mentioning: "No part of the footway could be obstructed by a private individual, and the public were entitled to every inch of the highway without anything to impede this progress. The little space the inhabitants of London had now left to move about on could not be used as an auditorium for the exhibition of a play or amusement of this kind."[36] The court judged that Coventry Street infringed on rights of passage and freedom of

perception with its media novelties targeting the lust of the undisciplined and unprotected eye. There is also an important subtext to this judgment: mutoscopes were associated with pornography almost immediately after their invention and represented the visual turn in the trade in pornography that was unfolding on this very street in the last decade of the century.

Going beyond Hirsch's "Notice" to map the area around Coventry Street extends even further our knowledge of the cultural geography and pornographic book trade that informed *Teleny*'s conditions of production and exchange. Shaftesbury Avenue and Soho were to the northeast, Piccadilly Circus to the west, Regent Street to the northwest, and Leicester Square to the east, all major thoroughfares and gathering points with their own distinct characters feeding into the Coventry Street corridor. All the principal publishers and booksellers of clandestine pornography were in this area in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Besides Hirsch, as well as Robson and Kerslake, on Coventry Street, there was Edward Avery at 53 Greek Street and H. S. Nichols and Leonard Smithers at 3 Soho Square.[37] By 1896, after his split with the printer Nichols, Smithers opened up another bookshop at 4–5 Royal Arcade, Old Bond Street, which was west of Piccadilly Circus and was described as "a perfect little museum of erotics belonging to all times and countries."[38] According to a contemporary, it was Smithers's ambition to "push Quaritch from his throne in the Antiquarian Book World."[39] There is ample evidence that they all knew each other's business.

Like Coventry Street, the surrounding area was a sexual playground. It was the center of London's homosexual subculture. *Sins of the Cities of the Plains, or The Recollections of a Mary-Ann* (1881), a pornographic novel about queer identities and communities that Hirsch claims he sold to Wilde, described male streetwalkers in Leicester Square, Regent Street, and the Haymarket.[40] In his guidebook on *The Night Side of London* (1902), Robert Machray described how French prostitutes transformed these London streets into Parisian boulevards.[41] In *Wanderings in Piccadilly, Mayfair and Pall Mall* (1908), E. Beresford Chancellor gives an even more dramatic picture of the crush of time, space, and media in Piccadilly Circus and its purlieus:

> If not unhasting, certainly unresting are the passengers on those streams which flow in from so many points and seek so many exits. Here the denizens of Soho emerge to their farthest Western limits; here the West End, in electric broughams, comes to the outskirts of

> its own country. Theatre and music halls are here "at grips" with their opposition entertainments. Everything comes in time to Piccadilly Circus. . . . And then for the stranger there is such a pleasant commingling of the old and the new at this point. The wilds of Soho, with its historic square, its streets that defy the most exact logical definition . . . ; Leicester Square where once was a royal palace, and the homes of Reynolds, and Hunter, and Hogarth, and our one and only Sir Isaac; and where the Empire, and the Alhambra (awhile the home of the most dreary Panopticon) compete nightly with all the bravery of illumination and gigantic "chuckers out."[42]

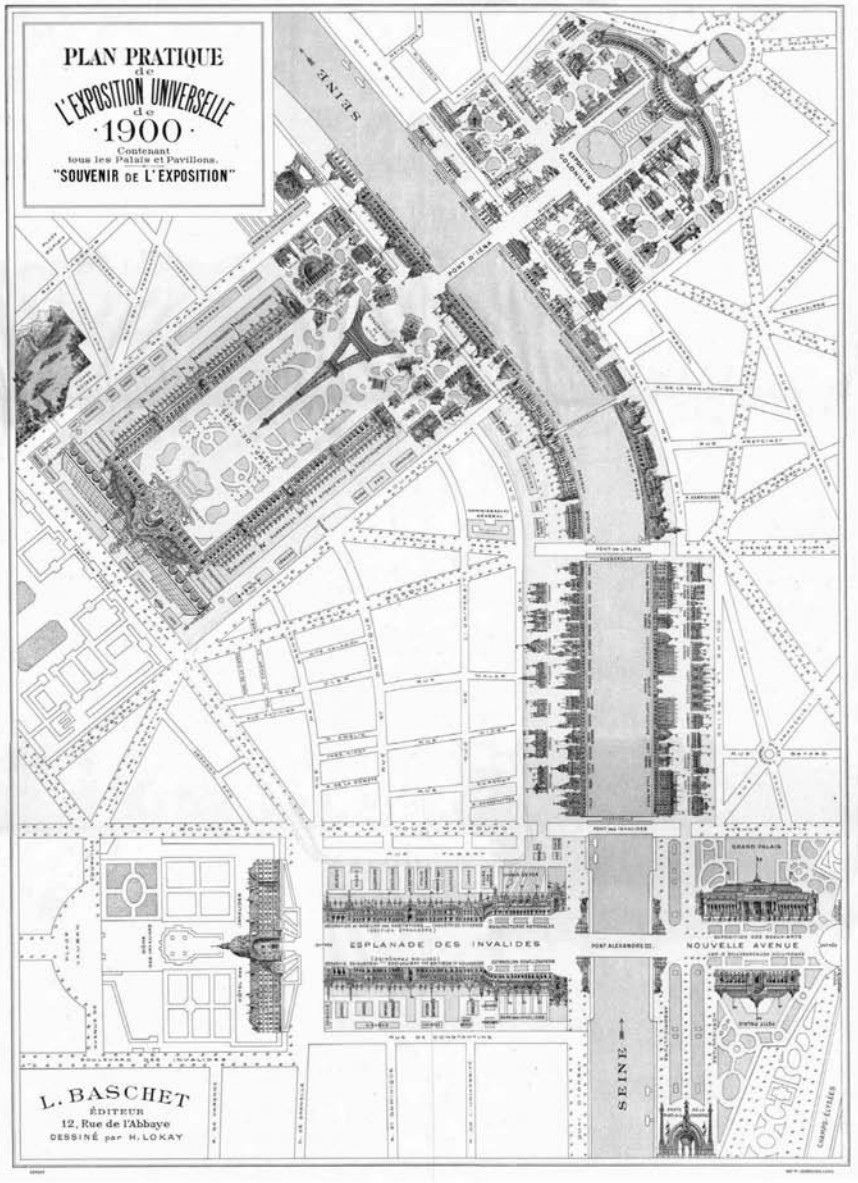
The glaring gas lamps from the Trocadero, the massive advertisements for Bovril at Piccadilly Circus, "the foreign newspapers," the "French demoiselles," the Mary Anns, and "the blind beggar" all surrounded Hirsch's little French bookshop, forming the visual, haptic, and auditory experiences of a stream of men with a forbidden book in hand. Research into the area indicates that *Teleny* emerged within a loose network of booksellers and publishers who specialized in a clandestine book trade in a small area in the heart of London notorious for its sundry peccadilloes and its fin de siècle cultural streams of past and present, old and new media, fantasy and reality, French and English, heterosexual and homosexual.

In addition to discussing the London composition and publication of *Teleny,* Hirsch's "Notice" indicates that many of the same people behind its production crossed paths in Paris in 1900 where they made the novel's editorial changes the topic of conversation. By following Hirsch's lead once again and mapping *Teleny*'s passage across the Channel, through correspondence, Paris guidebooks, and memoirs from the period, we glimpse the networks of production and distribution that brought *Teleny* to Paris and transformed it into a Paris edition.

Paris, in its centenary year, was a meeting place for the world, with its grand Exposition Universelle that celebrated the old and ushered in the new. From all accounts, the fair was a spectacle of collapsed time and space in the heart of Paris. Chief attractions recreated distant lands and historical periods juxtaposed with the latest technological marvels. Visitors could be transported to Vieux Paris or a Swiss Village. They could be filmed on the new "trottoir roulante," a moving walkway that circled the fair, or, they could watch "un panorama animé du Tour du Monde," another popular attraction which transported visitors to far-off places and times. They could visit the immense Le Globe Celeste, which one could

enter by stairways and elevators to look up at the celestial bodies and look down at the exposition grounds,[43] or they could watch the experimental films of the Lumière brothers on colossal screens and see Gromoin-Sanson's Cineorama.[44] If these attractions were not enough, visitors could spend the day in one of the principal sites of the exposition at the Jardins du Trocadéro, a bit detached from the rest of the grounds, which was given over to the exhibition of French and foreign colonies and protectorates. In *Paris 1900 A.D.,* Paul Morand described it as his "favourite haunt." The exposition's "nameless confusion of time and space" could be explained by the fact that the "French have no idea of geography. Geography comes to them."[45] Whatever the larger geopolitical reasons behind the Exposition Universelle's spatial dynamics, contemporary writers confirm that it created a topography of past and present, illusion and exoticism—the perfect asylum for a group of defeated and dislocated men and for a novel which continually imagined the same kind of far-away magical realms (fig. 7.3).

Hirsch, Smithers, and Wilde, the key figures putatively involved in *Teleny*'s production, regrouped in these marvelous palaces and pavilions. Hirsch mentions meeting Smithers at the exposition and questioning him about the drastic revisions in his 1893 London edition of *Teleny.* He does not relate that this meeting would have been between two beleaguered men. In March 1899 Hirsch was charged and convicted to nine months imprisonment with hard labor at Wormwood Scrubs Prison for selling indecent photographs and books in both French and English from his bookshop. The clandestine side of his business was disclosed during his trial, which mentioned the seizure of materials "discovered in the basement under a board in the cupboard."[46] By 1900 Hirsch's French bookshop in Coventry Street was gone, as were the shops of other clandestine booksellers-publishers in the area, including Avery, Nichols, and Smithers. Robson and Kerslake alone remained on Coventry Street, but had a legitimate business in rare secondhand books. Smithers, meanwhile, was bankrupt and running from the London authorities. It seems that he tried to continue profiting from *Teleny*'s success, collaborating with his Parisian contacts in the Rivoli network, the printer Charles Renaudie and the mysterious publisher Duringe, on a prequel to *Teleny.*[47] The meeting between Hirsch and Smithers, therefore, would have had a certain desperation and poignancy as they looked back to those years in London when *Teleny* was first composed and published.



7.3. H. Lokay, *Plan Pratique de L'Exposition Universelle de 1900* (Paris: L. Baschet, 1900).

Hirsch also mentions meeting Wilde at the exposition—in Vieux Paris with an entourage of young men. Wilde at this time was also a broken man in semi-exile: his career, reputation, and health in ruins after his 1895 trial and imprisonment for "gross indecency." He would die not many months after the exposition closed. It seems fitting, then, that the meeting between Hirsch and Wilde would be in the simulation of Vieux Paris, oriented in the past. Wilde's correspondence confirms Hirsch's story that both he and Smithers were in Paris during the exposition. In a letter to Robert Ross on June 27, Wilde describes visiting the fair with the publisher: "Smithers appeared here with his new mistress. She is quite clean, and charmingly dressed. We went to the Exhibition one night."[48] There is no direct evidence that Wilde knew anything about *Teleny,* but his letters reveal that he knew one of the key figures involved in its publication and circulation, knew generally about his clandestine activities, and was in Paris at the exposition at the same time as Hirsch and Smithers. Perhaps he was not behind the composition of *Teleny,* but he was certainly linked to the people and places that circulated it in 1900.

Wilde's correspondence is also revealing because it describes the allure of the Exposition Universelle. His letters from this period dwell on the fair, marveling at "the old works of art," decrying the "second-rate tourists," and reveling in its erotic license. In a letter to Ross on June 29, he writes of taking a former lover to the Exposition: "I have seen Maurice lately; we spent two evenings at the Exhibition. He was pale, and sweet, and gentle. He now forms part of a *ménage à trois:* none of the members sleeps: the girl—a rose-like thing I hope—lies in the middle, and knows the pleasure and insecurity of the Via Media. Maurice won't tell me the name of the other partner, but admits he has a slight moustache." To Smithers, he wrote a similar letter on September 2 about his infatuation with a young man working at the exposition: "A slim brown Egyptian, rather like a handsome bamboo walking-stick, occasionally serves me drinks at the Café d'Egypte, but he does not console me for the loss of the wanton sylvan boy of Italy."[49] Wilde's contemporaries commented on his excitement over the exposition. Ernest La Jeunesse poignantly describes how Wilde attended the fair almost daily, detailing how "nature, at last kind to him who had denied her, gathered all her glories together for him in the Exposition."[50] While offering Wilde a degree of sexual freedom, the Paris exposition also offered him various heterotopias that sheltered him from the present time and place.

Wilde's experiences at the Exposition Universelle evoke the final days of the London pornographic book trade as described in Hirsch's "Notice" on *Teleny.* The exposition was a phantasmagoric cultural space, and such a space may have allowed these men, down on their luck, to look back on their business and one of their best productions. The assembly of exotic cafés, grand pavilions, and historic cities in a Parisian setting would have recreated the lure of the exotic past for the group, while the barrage of technological marvels would have recalled the pleasures and pressures of metropolitan modernity. If *Teleny* originated in a foreign "maison special" in London, and then circulated in a London edition published in "Cosmopoli" that was read by old Paris booksellers like Isodore Liseux,[51] it also resurfaced discursively in a simulacral Paris—signaling not only the globalization of culture, but also relocation of the pornographic book trade to Paris. Although the exposition opened up a provisional setting for the exchange of pornography in the cafés, exotic pavilions, and simulated cities of the exposition grounds, the London edition of *Teleny,* in Paris, would be the bankrupt dealers' contribution to the exposition, their finest and last exhibition piece, remembered at the very same time as Paris editions of pornographic English novels were being churned out for all the tourists coming to the city. In fact, the Paris reprint of Smithers's edition of *Teleny* was circulating just a few years after these defunct London dealers were gathering and reminiscing. Once we take Hirsch's "Notice" seriously as historical evidence, we see that it crucially points to the relocation of the pornographic book trade from London to Paris, offering a publisher's persspective on the emerging publishing paradise for English sex books.

Reading Hirsch's Teleny *through His "Notice bibliographique"*

Hirsch's "Notice" also raises questions about *Teleny*'s thematic relationship to these changing textual conditions through the fin de siècle. The novel itself is responsive to the migrations of the pornographic book trade. Its focus on the secret touch corresponds to its history of being passed from hand to hand. Its peripatetic structure and unstable setting reflect its complex manuscript and publication history in London and Paris. And its bifurcated sensuality responds to the media contests waged on streets and across borders where pornographic books were traded. The novel's erotic imagery, structure, and sensuality thus map a bibliopolis of secret touch

even while exploiting the promise and opportunities of a modern, wired metropolis.[52] To read *Teleny* in such a way is to understand the book as a permeable rather than self-contained medium—a line of thought ventured in Gray and Keep's discussion of the novel's paraliterary discourse as a strategy for exploring queer desire and identities.[53] Hirsch's 1934 French edition, translated back into English by Winston Leyland for Gay Sunshine Press in 1984, is a good example of this permeable textuality; I use this version to develop my reading, and cite its page numbers in the text.[54] Hirsch claims to have used the original (and now lost) 1890 manuscript as his copy text, which he received from Smithers's Paris collaborator Duringe (in who-knows-what state). But his edition is nonetheless "thick" with the textual histories and topographical codes of the 1893 London edition (published by Smithers in "Cosmopoli") and the 1906 Paris reprint (which was possibly published by Hirsch or Duringe), as well as the intervening years that informed his restorative editorial work and translation. I recognize that I am bypassing the textual conditions and work of translation of Leyland's edition in this reading, but the English translation of Hirsch's text suits my purposes here for readers of English, and my reading focuses on the ways in which these earlier textual conditions helped map the novel's structure and themes.

Teleny's history of being manhandled, as told by Hirsch, can be read right away in its numerous reflections on hands and touch. Already in the first chapter there is a long digressive passage on hands. When Camille Des Grieux and René Teleny meet for the first time, they shake hands. As Des Grieux recounts, "I bowed, blushing. The pianist stretched forth his ungloved hand. In my fit of nervousness I had pulled off both my gloves, so that I now put my bare hand into his. He had a perfect hand for a man, rather large than small, strong yet soft, and with long, tapering fingers, so that his grasp was firm and steady" (29). Des Grieux then offers a lengthy and digressive dissertation on the hand that suggests the sensuousness of its touch: "Some hands are coy, others paddle you indecently; the grip of some is hypocritical, and not what it pretends to be; there is the velvety, the unctuous, the priestly, the humbug's hand; the open palm of the spendthrift, the usurer's tight-fisted claw. There is, moreover, the magnetic hand, which seems to have a secret affinity for your own; its simple touch thrills your whole nervous system, and fills you with delight" (29). The extended hand imagery recalls the thrill of passing the manuscript from hand to

hand, the secret touch that governed its composition and exchange in the London streets. The raw sensuality of this "ungloved" handshake between Des Grieux and Teleny also suggests the eroticism of manuscript exchange while implicitly valorizing the tactile nature of written media:

> How can I express all that I felt from the contact of Teleny's hand? It set me on fire; and, strange to say, it soothed me at the same time. How sweeter, softer, it was, than any woman's kiss. I felt his grasp steal slowly over all my body, caressing my lips, my throat, my breast; my nerves quivered from head to foot with delight, then it sank downwards into my reins, and Priapus, reawakened, uplifted his head. I actually felt I was being taken possession of, and I was happy to belong to him. (29)

Teleny's narrative structure can similarly be read in relation to the perambulations to and from Hirsch's shop in the Coventry Street media corridor and beyond. Many editors and critics have commented on *Teleny*'s mismatched style and structure. As Matthew Cook says about Smithers's 1893 edition, "the novel's uneven style is suggestive of shared authorship, and so of a circle of men, possibly centered around Wilde, working together to construct a decadent fantasy of homosexual life and sex in London."[55] This unevenness is carried over to Hirsch's version of the text, which is supposed to be based on the undoctored manuscript. But despite the numerous figures putatively involved in the making of *Teleny,* at the point of composition and in its editorial history, the novel is surprisingly coherent. It has a conventional teleological structure: Des Grieux and Teleny's romance from introduction to consummation to tragic ending. There is also arguably a pattern to its unevenness: its digressions, jarring motifs, and unstable setting map out the novel's composition, exchange, and publication in London and Paris.

Teleny's plot, while it follows the trajectory of a same-sex love affair, is intertextual and digressive. Des Grieux's lengthy descriptions of dreams, visions, interiors, and past loves often derail the same-sex love plot. This irregularity of structure, however, is significant. The most intriguing narrative digressions involve the descriptions of heterosexual lovemaking. John McRae argues that there is a "detailing of disgust and the lack of sensuality in the non-homosexual encounters."[56] This observation is certainly true of the brothel scene. When one woman performs cunnilingus on another, presumably for the delectation of the male clients, Des Grieux describes his repulsion: "The sight was really loathsome, and I

turned my head aside so as not to see it, but the view that offered itself all around was, if anything, more disgusting" (60). A scene that would have been rendered erotically in most pornographic writing of the period is rewritten here as loathsome debauchery. *Teleny,* however, features a number of other scenes of heterosexual lovemaking that function as pleasurable digressions from the main love story. Des Grieux's voyeuristic vision of Teleny making love to the Countess shows his tortured jealousy and Teleny's ambivalence about the woman, but also arouses the reader: "Teleny covered her bare neck and arms with kisses, pressed his cheeks against the thick, black hair of her armpits, and tickled her as he did so. This little titillation was felt all over her body, and the slit between her legs opened again in such a way that the delicate little clitoris, like a red hawthorn berry, peeped out as if to see what was going on" (71). Why do these lengthy descriptions of heterosexual lovemaking appear in a novel primarily concerned with male same-sex relations? One answer is that they reflect bisexual desire, calling into question uncomplicated celebrations of *Teleny* as "the first gay novel" and calling for new critical perspectives on the novel to add to queer readings advanced by Ed Cohen and Matthew Cook.[57] Another possibility is that these digressions in the plot reproduce the spatial and intermedial dynamics of the congested streets in the Piccadilly-Soho quarter of London and the exposition grounds of a phantasmagoric Paris where *Teleny* was circulated. These two sites, with their competing businesses, peoples, entertainments, and desires, were intercultural and unpredictable—much like the plot structure of *Teleny*.

The novel's startling and disruptive motifs, which are sometimes developed and sometimes discarded, can similarly be understood in relation to the textual conditions of the pornographic book trade. In the first chapter, the procession of death motifs serves as an insistent and brutal reminder of fatality: Teleny alludes to "ghosts" (24) that haunt him; later Des Grieux has a vision of a "small dagger plunged in his [Teleny's] chest" (27); and Teleny wonders aloud to Des Grieux, "perhaps I shall die for you one day!" (34). This imagery sets up the final scene when Des Grieux finds Teleny near death from a stab wound self-inflicted out of guilt for betraying his lover: "I saw a pool of coagulated blood on the dazzling-white, fur carpet, and Teleny, half-stretched, half-fallen, on the bearskin covered couch. A small dagger was plunged in his breast, and the blood continued to trickle out of the wound" (172).

In chapter two, Des Grieux introduces motifs of transgender and incest. As he describes his erotic dreams about Teleny, he explains "Once, for instance, it seemed to me that Teleny was not a man, but a woman; moreover, he was my own sister" (37). More disturbingly, in his dream his mother discovers him defiling his sister. This death and incest imagery could reveal the feelings of shame that surround same-sex desires and practices; it also sets up the incest triangle with himself, Teleny, and his mother, nowhere suggested until this point. These motifs, however, can also be read topographically, related to the work's round-robin composition, subsequent exchange in a sealed packet, and later editorial redactions—as if each motif is an image-parcel delivered by one writer-courier to the next at the designated pick-up point. Though some of these parcels are picked up, others are lost or discarded along the way through the writing and editing process. Des Grieux never pursues the story of his father or his mother even though he promises to do so. The doppelganger motif introduced at the end of the novel is yet another waylaid parcel. After Des Grieux discovers his mother in his lover's embrace, he "run[s] through the gloomy streets" until he meets a man in his own image (169). The motif is never taken up because the novel comes quickly to a close. Though it may be true that the unknown doppelganger introduces a horizon narrative that subverts a conventional and punitive ending, as Cook suggests of the 1893 Smithers edition,[58] there is also the more pragmatic explanation that the parceling out of the *Teleny* manuscript simply came to a premature stop. These motifs thus offer a rudimentary map of the sequences of movements, exchanges, and intertextual coordinates during the production of *Teleny*.

We can look further into *Teleny*'s ambiguous and unstable setting as yet another reflection of its complex textual history. First, there is the much discussed doubling of Paris and London. Smithers's 1893 edition locates the novel in Paris, but according to Hirsch, the original lost manuscript was set in London. As a result of these changes in the Smithers's edition, the opening piano recital takes place at an unnamed "grand charity concert" in Paris rather than Queen's Hall in London; the brothel is in the Latin quarter rather than the East End or Soho; Teleny's house is located in some unspecified place rather than Mayfair; and male cruising takes place by the "Quai de –" (as it appears in the book) rather than the Thames embankment. Cook rightly argues that these spaces are "pivotal," but "sufficiently oblique to implicate both London and Paris."[59] Des Grieux even

admits to the mutability of these eroticized city spaces: "As I learnt later in life, every large city has its particular haunts—its square, its garden for such recreation" (99), Hirsch's 1934 edition restores the setting back to London, but this persistent doubling of Paris and London reproduces the Parisian flavor of Hirsch's shop, the queer networks in the Piccadilly-Soho area, and the London-Paris migrations of the pornographic trade.

In addition to the doubling of London and Paris, *Teleny* introduces a series of antimodern heterotopias that further destabilize the setting and relate to the larger story of the novel's changing textual conditions. The novel situates itself in a distant time and place. In the first chapter, Teleny's music transports Des Grieux to various places in the ancient world: Alhambra in Spain, "the sun-lit sands of Egypt," the towns of Sodom and Gomorrah (26). Later, when Teleny and Des Grieux participate in the "symposium," the room moves the men to other parts of the world with its decor. As Des Grieux explains, "It seemed as if from this every-day world of ours I had been transported into the magic realms of fairy-land" (131). Cook describes the men's movements through shared homoerotic fantasy places as "topographical foreplay,"[60] an observation which becomes all the more powerful when shifted from a thematic reading of the novel to a consideration of its publication history. A glimpse of a prostitute or telegraph boy while running down Regents Street, a brief stop in the fantasy rooms at the New Lyric Club, a quick coffee at the dodgy Café du Globe, all before or after entering Hirsch's specialty French bookshop—the sequence of stops and movements through this quarter of London and then later Paris's exposition grounds and bookshops would likely have changed for the men involved in the making and dissemination of *Teleny*. It would not be surprising if these encounters with mutable landscapes and sundry media stations became highly eroticized for these men with sealed packet in hand carrying on business in these busy cities.

One way in which *Teleny* may respond to these changing textual conditions is through its sensual descriptions of sex and desire. Multiple sexual practices unfold in this novel: rape, incest, oral sex, anal sex, and orgies. There are, however, important differences in the descriptions of devalorized cross-sex relations and privileged same-sex relations. Whereas the sex scenes involving the same sexes repeatedly describe a mad "losing of the senses" through sensory repletion, those involving different sexes largely rely on stock visual pleasures associated with the growing presence of photographic

and pre-filmic technologies, a trend I note in my first chapter. While denigrating visual pleasures, the novel retreats to an antitechnological and other-worldly sensuality imagined through a topography of secret touch. I am suggesting that we read this tactile retreat as a reference to its hand-to-hand exchange in a queer network subsequently broken up and displaced.

The eroticism in *Teleny*'s cross-sex scenes is primarily visual. This visual pleasure corresponds to and anticipates the intensifying relationship between pornography and the technologies of photography, pre-filmic technologies, and early film. Scholars of early erotic photography and film have commented on pornography's reorganization of sex into visibility with the influence of these new visual technologies. Abigail Solomon-Godeau argues for a shift in erotic representation from "a conception of the sexual as an activity to a new emphasis on spectacularity," and Linda Williams discusses the new "frenzy of the visible."[61] *Teleny* turns to the classic "peephole" or "keyhole" perspective in its scenes of cross-sex desires and practices, when the hidden observer looks upon the unwitting object of the gaze (typically a woman). The keyhole perspective has a long history in erotic representation and writing (see *Fanny Hill*, for instance), but it was reappropriated by Victorian photography, particularly because taking pictures involved hiding one's head under a dark cloth and looking through the small aperture of the camera. Many close-up photographs from the period extended this perspective in the way they were cropped with circular or keyhole frames. Pre-filmic technologies (mutoscopes and kinetoscopes) and early film also developed this perspective, often incorporating it into comedic narratives of illicit voyeurism.[62] George Albert Smith's *As Seen through a Telescope* (1900) and Pathé Frères *Par le Trou de Serrure* (1901) are classic early point-of-view films alternating shots of a hidden observer and a close-up shot of a woman; the early stag film, *Le Trou* (1928), brings this perspective into the realm of hard-core sex.[63] *My Secret Life,* which was roughly contemporaneous to *Teleny,* incorporates many of these keyhole scenes of extreme close-ups of female genitalia, revealing the extent to which pornographic writing by the 1890s was adopting and anticipating perspectives developed in visual media.[64] The difference between *My Secret Life* and *Teleny,* however, is that the first finds these keyhole perspectives highly arousing, while the latter resists and denigrates them.

The keyhole perspective first emerges when Des Grieux describes his adolescent interest in a young girl, Marguerite (Rita). Des Grieux

finds himself "hidden behind some ilex bushes" as she walks by. As he describes, "She stopped, turned her back upon her companions, and displayed a very pretty though rather thin leg incased in a close-fitting, black silk stocking." It does not occur to him to "have peeped between her legs" because, as he admits, "I had never really cared for her or for any other woman." He is shocked by what he sees when he emerges from the bushes: "A faint glimpse of pinkish flesh, and a stream of yellow liquid pouring down and flowing on the gravel, bubbling with much froth, accompanied by the rushing sound of many waters, whilst, as if to greet my appearance, a rumbling noise like that of an unctuous cannonade came from behind" (49). Des Grieux does not experience visual pleasure at such a sight; instead, he says, "the only love I ever had for a woman thus came to an end" (50).

Des Grieux also resorts to the keyhole perspective in his later description of the coachman raping the chambermaid, but he again resists it. He describes how the coachman, "unperceived," "stealthily secreted himself in her room, and ensconced himself behind an old screen," explaining how "two holes which he had made in the paper of the screen enabled him to see everything perfectly" (88–89). As he continues to narrate what the coachman saw, he anticipates cinematic voyeurism with his focus on the play of light on naked flesh: "The moon was now in its full, and flooded the room with its mellow light, falling on her naked arms, on her rounded shoulders and small protruding breasts, shedding upon them all kinds of opaline tints, giving them the delicate gloss of satin and the sheen of amber, while the linen chemise fell in folds on her nether parts with the softness of flannel" (89). While Des Grieux participates in this visual pleasure, by inexplicably having access to the coachman's vision and reproducing it for narration, he rejects it. The coachman's visually mediated desire for the chambermaid is brutal: "it was the wild overpowering eagerness which the male brute displays in possessing the female" (90). Moreover, unlike many early films that exploited the keyhole perspective, this novel does not resolve the illicit gaze with a comedic ending. The chambermaid commits suicide.

The keyhole perspective emerges one last time in the novel's disturbing final scene. Des Grieux discovers his lover *in flagrante delicto* with another woman when "he ben[ds] down and looked through the key-hole" (165). Although his vision is partially obstructed, he remarks upon the clarity and detail of the sight before him. It is

no "optical illusion" or "phantasmagoric bubble" (165): he is "able to perceive everything clearly" (166). His descriptions of the lovers' embrace are rendered in extreme close-up detail: "The sight of those two naked bodies clasped in such a thrilling embrace, those two massy lobes of flesh, as white as newly-fallen snow; the smothered sound of their ecstatic bliss, overcame for a moment my excruciating jealousy, and I got to be excited to such an ungovernable pitch that I could hardly forbear from rushing into that room" (167). Des Grieux is aroused by the sight offered to him through the keyhole, but he again destroys this visual pleasure. With "inexpressible horror," he realizes that the woman in his lover's arms is his mother (169). Like the other keyhole scenes, *Teleny* interrupts a visual pleasure associated with cross-sex desire and maximum visibility by punishing it harshly.

Teleny's more intimate descriptions of sex and desire between men markedly turn away from this kind of visual pleasure. The novel's same-sex eroticism explores alternative sensory pleasures, often distanced from the modern world and its technological investments in photographic realism. Des Grieux's description of his first encounter with Teleny begins to explore this different sensorial world. As Teleny plays the piano at a concert recital and Des Grieux watches and listens, they share an extraordinary telekinetic vision. Teleny's music first leads him to see "the strangest visions" of erotic oriental realms and then expresses itself as sexual touch (26). Des Grieux explains, "But suddenly a heavy hand seemed to be laid upon my lap, something was bent and clasped and grasped, which made me faint with lust. The hand was moved up and down, slowly at first, then fast and faster it went in rhythm with the song" (27). Des Grieux describes his awakened passion for Teleny as a transition from music to vision and then to touch through shared sensory synesthesia. The imagery he adopts to identify this sensuality draws upon the gothic tradition and the contemporary interest in psychical phenomena (the novel even refers to the "Psychical Society" formed in London in 1860 [72]). He further describes this connection as a "hallucination," "trance," and "madness" and alternatively refers to himself as fascinated, ensnared, intoxicated, and spellbound (27, 28). Though still governed by visions and the gaze, this sensuality operates altogether differently from the keyhole scenes. His shared synesthetic visions with Teleny are "vague and indefinite," dreamy and hallucinatory rather than controlled and detailed (40). Des Grieux even dwells on this loss of control, playing

with the double meaning of senses and asking himself "whether [his] senses, too, were leaving [him]" (35). Most interestingly, the sensory synesthesia that continually threatens to overwhelm the senses is enabled by the modern world that it rejects. Des Grieux figures this shared sensuality as an "uninterrupted current," "like a spark of electricity running along a wire" (36). The modern technological world of London or Paris is kept at bay, but yet always remains present in the sensual retreat created between the men whose bodies have become synesthetic switchboards.

The men's telekinesis develops to the extent that Des Grieux imagines that he can, from across the city, see Teleny having sex with a countess. As he explains, "in the cab, that night, my mind was so intently fixed upon Teleny that my inward self seemed to disintegrate itself from my body and to follow like his own shadow the man I loved. I unconsciously threw myself into a kind of trance and I had a most vivid hallucination, which, strange as it might appear, coincided with all that my friend did and felt" (71). This vision is transmitted between the men in complex ways. Des Grieux feels his image is always present before Teleny's eyes and believes that Teleny operates as "medium" making the countess visible to him (72). Des Grieux is also able to transmit thoughts to Teleny; as he explains, "the image which had formed itself within my mind so vividly was all at once reverberated within René's brain and he thought, if instead of this lady's mouth those lips were my lips and his phallus at once stiffened and awoke into life" (75). The difference between the earlier keyhole scenes and this sympathetic vision is that the image matters less than the act of shared visual mediation that crosses large distances to create a tactile connection between queer male bodies. This notion of electrification (suggested by the language of reverberation) enables this connection, but outside of modern informational networks. The result of this shared vision while Teleny has sex with the countess is even procreative: the countess has a child nine months later who looks like Des Grieux! (76).

This alternative sensuality is more fully explored in the most explicit sex scenes between Des Grieux and Teleny that appear in the latter half of the novel. In these scenes Des Grieux turns more resolutely away from visual pleasure in order to turn to the secret touch. His descriptions of Teleny's house, where the two men first have sex, explore this tactile sensuality topographically. When entering Teleny's house, he explains: "We then groped our way upstairs in the dark, for I would not allow him to light a wax match.

I therefore went along, stumbling against him; not that I could not see, but because I was intoxicated with male desire as a drunken man is with wine" (107). The scene is in stark contrast with Des Grieux's earlier description of his reluctant entry into the brothel where he "went in at a small door, up a winding, greasy, slippery staircase, lighted by an asthmatic, flickering gaslight" (55). Haptic pleasure surmounts gaslight debauchery. A little later Des Grieux enters Teleny's "warm, soft, quilted" (108) private room, both an architectural figure for anal penetration and a tactile description of the sexual act.[65] By the end of the novel the representation of their sexual contact is almost entirely tactile, governed by skin, hands, and tongues feeling, fondling, paddling, clasping, tearing, pressing, rubbing, and wriggling: "I had to feel the tough and yet elastic muscles of the arm in the palm of my hand, to fondle his massive and sinewy breast, to paddle his back. From there my hands descended down to the round lobes of the rump, and I clasped him against me by the buttocks. Thereupon, tearing off my clothes, I pressed all his body on mine, and rubbed against him, wriggling like a worm. Lying over him as I was, my tongue was in his mouth, searching for his" (154). Des Grieux even draws explicit attention to this valorization of touch over vision. As he explains, "The more I looked upon him the more enamoured I was of him. But the sight was not enough. I had to heighten the visual delight by the sense of touch." The hand imagery from the beginning of the novel thus becomes more explicitly linked to the "thrilling sensation" of the secret touch as Des Grieux finally revels in how their "two bodies were now in as close a contact as the glove is to the hand it sheathes" (154).

Des Grieux continues to identify these explicit descriptions of his same-sex sexual desires and practices in relation to the suspension of perception and the losing of the senses. He makes many declarations to this effect: "my reason all at once left me" (111); "his glances had a mesmeric spell over me" (115); when "the paroxysm of pleasure which is the delirium of sensuality began to abate, and I was left crushed and annihilated; then a pleasant state of torpor followed" (127). In short, the novel's same-sex sensuality is not preoccupied with visual clarity, nor is it taken up by what Baudrillard identifies as the "frenzy of the image." In Baudrillard's definition of the "obscenity of the real," which he characterizes as a desire for the "excessiveness and degradation of the visible" as (false) proof of a "real" that is irretrievable, he argues that "the obscenity of our culture resides in the confusion of desire and its equivalent

materialized in the image."[66] His ocularcentric theory does not take into account historical developments that explain this conceptual nexus of obscenity/pornography, the image, and the "real," nor does it acknowledge works like *Teleny* that resist this visual turn in pornography to enjoy the suspension of perception and topography of touch, both of which can be tied back to the book's putative composition and circulation.

Toward the end of the novel and in what will be his last sexual encounter with Teleny, Des Grieux further describes this "benumbed" state. As he tells his interlocutor,

> It seemed as if we were floating somewhere between heaven and earth, not thinking that everything that has a beginning has likewise an end.
>
> The senses were blunted, so that the downy couch upon which we were resting was like a bed of clouds. A deathlike silence was reigning around us. The very noise and hum of the great city seemed to have stopped—or, at least we did not hear it. (157)

Des Grieux imagines that the lovers are distant from the hectic modern city that surrounds the lovers: its "noise" and hum" are replaced by a "bed of clouds." Nowhere is it made more clear that the novel's same-sex sensuality is a retreat from metropolitan modernity and, perhaps more globally, a rejection of the technological developments of pornography. That this secret touch cannot keep the modern world at bay, however, is the novel's final theme. Des Grieux and Teleny's "pleasant somnolence" is abruptly disturbed "by the jarring sound of an electric bell" which brings in the real world with news of a telegram that calls Teleny away into the arms of Des Grieux's wealthy mother and leads ultimately to their exposure (157). For a novel given to telepathy, fantasy realms, and role playing, it becomes surprisingly modern and worldly in its concluding pages, frequently alluding to the law and the press. These continual references effectively remind readers of the potential real consequences of "deviant" sexual practices. The novel concludes with homosexual scandal and public calumny, far removed from the secret touch explored across a changing and phantasmagoric cityscape between two men.

Hirsch also restored the ending in his 1934 edition by adding a short *avant-propos*. In this prologue the mysterious interlocutor recounts how he met an ailing Des Grieux in Nice two years after Teleny's death in July 1892, and there transcribed his story before his own death. The prologue thus contextualizes the dialogue that

begins abruptly in the earlier editions, and concludes the romance between the two men as it describes how they were interred together in Brompton Cemetery beneath a white marble stone that bears no inscription. In adding this epitaphic prologue, Hirsch's *avant-propos* not only intervenes in the story's time-line, but also attempts to redress a history of redaction. His textual changes can thus be seen as a form of restorative editing, though part of an invested present informed by the history of expatriate publishing in Paris.

Restoring and Remembering Teleny, *circa* 1934

We can only speculate as to why Hirsch waited until 1934 to tell the story of *Teleny*'s publishing history and restore it to its original form. A commercial motive is certainly possible. As early as 1904 Charles Carrington circulated rumors that Wilde authored the novel. We might recall his entry in a secret catalogue of "Rare and Curious Books" (c. 1904) linking Wilde to this "awfully lewd book."[67] It might have struck Hirsch that the opportunity was ripe to resurrect the story—whether true or not. But Hirsch was more of a bookseller than a publisher later in his career, and he could not have expected to make much from a private edition for the Paris Ganymède Club, luxuriously printed, in a limited print run of three hundred copies.[68] His motives for restoring *Teleny* and telling his story about its composition and circulation forty years after its first publication appear to have been more complicated.

Hirsch's restorative edition could simply reflect a case of nostalgia, an older man looking back on his London years when he was publishing Paul Verlaine and William Platt and doing business with the Decadent literati. If so, there is a striking materiality to his nostalgia, particularly when one considers he is supposedly recalling details from over forty years earlier. In his "Notice" he dwells on the materials used for the composition of *Teleny* and worn by exchange. He repeatedly stresses the work's status as manuscript, crudely and secretly made. Besides mentioning that it was a thin book (*mince cahier*) of business stock (*format commercial*) with a grey cover (*papier grisatre*), he also painstakingly describes how it was wrapped: initially, it was packaged up and carefully hidden (*ficelé et soigneusement cacheté*) and later held only by a ribbon which barely kept it closed (*non chacheté, entouré d'un simple ruban, à peine fermé*). He also chooses a number of different descriptors for the work: it was at once booklet (*cahier*), manuscript (*manuscrit*), envelope (*pli*), packet (*paquet*), and

bundle of papers (*liasse de feuilles*). The variety of terms suggests the mobility and changeability of its form. The singular handcrafted features of the work also grab his attention. He remarks that he initially misread the title as *Feleny,* signaling one of the many perils of interacting with manuscripts not in uniform type and especially in a foreign English hand (*calligraphie anglaise*). Finally he describes how he then deciphered two hundred pages of a much-hustled document (*de parties raturées, supprimées, corrigées ou ajoutées*) written by many different people. In this detailed description of the *Teleny* manuscript—its cover, its penmanship, its ribbons, its manhandling—Hirsch fetishizes its material history. He pays far less attention to the sexual content, merely describing the work as extra-licentious (*extra-licencieuse*). Hirsch's material recall is remarkable: it might indicate a romantic fetishization of the past, but it also signals a certain urgency to remember the manuscript's material and textual existence.[69]

Could this material recall be a sign of a commitment to contra-censorship? As early as 1905, when Christopher Millard (as Stuart Mason) proved that translations ascribed to Wilde by Carrington were spurious, Wilde's circle had put considerable energy into recuperating his reputation and sanitizing his works.[70] One example is the 1921 collection of Wilde's letters that was edited by his son Vyvyan Holland along with Millard. Their collaboration on Wilde's letters to Robbie Ross between 1897 and 1900 was complicated by their cross-purposes: while Holland aimed to suppress any references to "active paiderasty [*sic*]," Millard kept slipping excised passages back in. Holland intended to cut the following passage from a letter written to Ross in 1898: "It is very unfair of people being horrid to me about Bosie and Naples. A patriot put in prison for loving his country loves his country—and a poet in prison for loving boys, loves boys. To have altered my life wd. have been to have admitted that Uranian Love is ignoble. I hold it to be noble—more noble than other forms." When Holland reviewed the page proofs for their edition, however, he discovered that Millard had ignored some of his "very careful deletions." His letter of rebuke to Millard, in which he forces him to suppress this passage from the edition, contains a remarkable reference to *Teleny:* "The last part [of the letter] was cut out in the draft & I don't know how it crept in. *It must come out.* I won't have the letters used as Uranian propaganda. I gave you fair warning that if anything of this sort gets in I will destroy the whole edition sooner than anyone should have a copy.

. . . To leave passages like this in brings the book down to the level of Télény."[71] Holland's linking of the Uranian passages to *Teleny* suggests that he wanted to suppress his father's association with this foreignized novel (note the accents added to the title) and possibly the future stories of secret literary liaisons that would come out, like the one ultimately divulged by Hirsch in his restored edition of *Teleny*. Hirsch would not have known the specific details behind the editing of Wilde's works, but he would have known the broader context of anglophone censorship and suppression that saw banned books by Radclyffe Hall, D. H. Lawrence, and Henry Miller circulating in exile in Paris in the 1920s and 1930s. Hirsch's uncensored *Teleny* can be read in this context, and though a translation, seen as a precursor to the great, unexpurgated-edition projects launched by Penguin Books in the 1960s.

Expatriate literary modernism and the prominence of Paris editions in the 1920s probably further informed Hirsch's restorative project and retextualization of the fin de siècle. That the Paris-expatriate moment was in decline in the 1930s adds a double dose of nostalgia to the project—not just for the 1890s, but also for the 1920s. Hirsch was not particularly engaged with literary modernism in Paris, whether Anglo-American or French, but he shared the same social and material infrastructures and was still loosely associated with the expatriate literary scene. His restorative project might finally be seen as a form of historiographic revisionism. "Articulating the past . . . means appropriating a memory as it flashes up in a moment of danger," according to Walter Benjamin. For Benjamin this moment of danger is the historicism of majority culture, of the ruling classes, of capitalist economy, of political fascism.[72] For Hirsch, by contrast, his recollection of a story forty years buried seems to have come from an investment in minority history and clandestine networking, a history rarely told and rarely recognized to which he actually gives his signature "CH.H." This history included London's underground homosexual subculture in which Wilde moved before his downfall, and the expatriate publishing phenomenon in which he had played an important part and which, though he did not say so, was still ongoing. Both faced different kinds of historical pressures with the sanitization of Wilde's legacy and the impending war that would quash the Paris sex book as well as the old Jewish bookseller who tried to tell its history. Hirsch and his restored Librairie Parisienne located in the galleries of the Palais Royal in Paris disappeared from the Paris post office directory

in 1945, a sinister piece of evidence in face of the roundup of Jews by the occupying Nazis and the sweep of bookstores for banned books.[73] At this point in time, his own biography remains largely untold and untraced, but he has left the biography and textual embodiments of an expatriated book, whose various migrations were a reflection of the pornographic book trade and its publishers extending from 1890s London to 1930s Paris.

CHAPTER 8

LOLITA, HER RUSSIAN AMERICAN AUTHOR, AND HIS PARIS PUBLISHER, 1939–1967

Suburban Souls and *Téleny* are little known pornographic novels that in different ways can be read against the changing history of Paris editions and Anglo-French cultural politics. The last novel I want to discuss is *Lolita,* a late example of a Paris edition by the Russian-American writer Vladimir Nabokov. Nabokov would probably have objected to my grouping *Lolita* with these two lesser novels, but his novel emerged out of the same publishing paradise. *Lolita*'s publishing history reflects how the geopolitics of Paris editions changed over the course of the twentieth century with the massive upheavals of the two world wars. If 1920s Paris was the stage for the generational revolts of expatriate modernists fighting Anglo-American censorship and imperialism, it was largely out of fashion through the Depression era and Second World War, as George Orwell famously laid out in his essays on 1930s expatriate Henry Miller.[1] By the 1950s, however, expatriate Paris was again a resurgent Anglo-American stage for controversial sex books and expatriate literary convergence. The different textual versions of *Lolita,* as well as its Paris and American

editions, record how the changing history of this publishing haven was creased into author-publisher encounters in uneven folds of recognition. Like *Suburban* Souls and *Teleny*, *Lolita* is not just a Paris edition, but also tells the story of Paris editions.

Although *Lolita* is a deeply controversial novel about a middle-aged man's pathological love for a prepubescent girl, it is usually listed with far more illustrious titles than the Victorian-era pornography I have been discussing. Nabokov's massive reputation makes it easy to forget that his novel first appeared in a green paperback edition published by a press that was known for pornographic titles like *The Enormous Bed* (1955) and *Tender Was My Flesh* (1955).[2] *Lolita* was first published in 1955, in Paris, by Maurice Girodias—the unabashed second-generation pornographer, owner of Paris Olympia Press, whose dirty books ("d.b's") appeared alongside avant-garde titles by Samuel Beckett, Jean Genet, Guillaume Apollinaire, and others.[3] Within a few years, *Lolita*'s humble beginnings were eclipsed by its publication by a major American press, its appearance on consecutive *New York Times* bestseller lists, and its adaptation into a Hollywood film. Many critics have discussed Nabokov's falling out with Girodias amid this sensational rise.[4] I want to reexamine their fatidic encounter over *Lolita*, however, by looking at it in relationship to the publishing history of Paris editions. The focus on Nabokov's encounter with Girodias has overlooked his engagement with a publishing phenomenon and, as I have argued, a larger extranational cultural formation distinctive for its internationalism, contra-censorship and pornography. From *Lolita*'s conception to publication, Nabokov reflected on this publishing history in different forms of textual, metatextual, and paratextual practice, challenging as always the boundaries of text. His reflections, moreover, revealed a complicated investment in and recognition of this history, right at the time when Paris as a publishing haven was becoming redundant with liberalizing obscenity laws and cultural policies in Britain and America.

Nabokov would later insist, in response to charges that *Lolita* was pornographic, that the work of art existed only in relation to other works of art and only insofar as it afforded him "aesthetic bliss."[5] A number of critics have accordingly read Nabokov as an antimaterialist writer in the Aesthetic tradition of art for art's sake. But a writer cannot escape his textual conditions: a work of art is inescapably involved in the material and social dynamics of production.[6] To read his work as antimaterialist is to ignore the ways in which *Lolita*

was critically informed by the history of Paris editions and, more than that, the ways in which Nabokov repeatedly engaged with this history through the various textual stages of *Lolita*'s transatlantic journey from inspiration to international bestseller.

"*The First Little Throb of* Lolita," *Paris 1939*

"The first little throb of *Lolita,*" as Nabokov put it, "went through" him in Paris in 1939, on the eve of the Second World War. He gave an extended description of his inspiration, and the short story that followed, in his later essay "On a Book Entitled *Lolita*":

> As far as I can recall, the initial shiver of inspiration was somehow prompted by a newspaper story about an ape in the Jardin des Plantes, who, after months of coaxing by a scientist, produced the first drawing ever charcoaled by an animal: this sketch showed the bars of the poor creature's cage. The impulse I record had no textual connection with the ensuing train of thought, which resulted, however, in a prototype of my present novel, a short story some thirty pages long. I wrote it in Russian, the language in which I had been writing novels since 1924 (the best of these are not translated into English, and all are prohibited for political reasons in Russia). The man was a Central European, the anonymous nymphet was French, and the loci were Paris and Provence. I had him marry the little girl's sick mother who soon died, and after a thwarted attempt to take advantage of the orphan in a hotel room, Arthur (for that was his name) threw himself under the wheels of a truck. I read the story one blue-papered wartime night to a group of friends—Mark Aldanov, two social revolutionaries, and a woman doctor; but I was not pleased with the thing and destroyed it sometime after moving to America in 1940.[7]

This was not, in fact, exactly the fate of the short story he called "The Enchanter." A few years after *Lolita*'s publication, he discovered his earlier story in a shipment of the family's belongings sent from Europe, belongings they had left behind with a friend in Paris as they fled from the Nazis. Their friend had been assassinated, but somehow some of his papers survived.[8] Nabokov may have mentioned this story in his essay simply to map the origins of an idea, but in so doing, he identified the foreign inspiration of *Lolita* and linked the novel's creative process back to a pre-occupation Parisian literary culture. This was a curious move for an author who was trying to establish his standing in America, but begins to reveal the

way in which *Lolita* was enmeshed in the history of Paris editions well before Nabokov met Girodias.

Brian Boyd's monumental biography of Nabokov gives a greater context for this enmeshment (as do Nabokov's letters). Nabokov was based in Paris for three years, from 1937 to 1940. These were transitional years as he and his family left Berlin to forge connections with the West. As the Nazification of Germany intensified, Berlin was no longer safe for a Russian exile from a political family, or for his Jewish wife and young son. Nabokov thus worked hard to "establish a vital link with London and Paris."[9] His three years in Paris were important for him creatively and professionally as he transitioned from writing in Russian to writing in English (and occasionally in French) in order to open up new literary markets for his work. While in Paris, he undertook his own English translations of his Russian novels *Despair* (1937) and *Laughter in the Dark* (1938), and he wrote his first novel in English, *The Real Life of Sebastian Knight* (1945).[10] Additionally while there he began networking intensely, giving readings in cities all over Western Europe, intermingling with Paris's Russian diaspora, and dining at the Café de la Paix, one of the international cafés where literary-minded expatriates had converged at least since Wilde back in the 1890s.[11] The possibilities were still numerous for international literary exchange as different groups passed through an already cosmopolitan Paris in forced migrations from the impending war. International realignments caused by economic depression and the rise of Nazism and fascism changed these expatriate networks,[12] but while many people left, a number stayed on, integrated as they were into Parisian life and nationalism. In a revealing letter to his wife Véra Nabokov on April 15, 1937, Nabokov described his efforts to mingle in these expatriate literary circles:

> The lunch at the villa of Henry Church (the publisher of *Mesures,* an American millionaire with a splendid boil on his nape, elderly, taciturn, with a literature-addicted wife of German extraction) turned out remarkably well. The rendezvous was at Adrienne Monniers's bookstore on the Odéon, whence we proceeded by car to the churches', out beyond St. Cloud (everything green and moist, almond trees in bloom, gnats swarming). I was much "feted" and was in great form. The writers were represented by [Henri] Michaux. I got on swimmingly with Joyce's publisher Sylvia Beach, who might help considerably with the publication of *Despair* in case Gallimard and Albin Michel *ne marcheront pas.* After lunch there was something on the order of a meeting of

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> the *Mesures* editorial board, and a lady photographer took fifteen shots of us. . . . To England I shall go for a week at the end of the month. Tomorrow at five I shall call on Madame Sablin in order to arrange a Russian reading there. . . . Have sent Long some more addresses that were given me by Sylvia Beach. . . . My stock has gone up a lot in France.[13]

A photograph of this afternoon survives, showing Nabokov standing beside Sylvia Beach, the expatriate American publisher who dared to publish *Ulysses* as a Paris edition back in 1922 and who remained in the city for the rest of her life (fig. 8.1).[14] As an admirer of Joyce (as well as an astute critic of his failings), Nabokov did not fail to recognize the importance of this connection.[15] It was a concrete social link to one of the most important publishers and brokers of the English sex book in Paris, made while the idea of *Lolita* was in gestation, while he was transitioning from a Russian-language to English-language author, and while he was writing under the prohibitive shadow of Russian totalitarianism, European fascism, and anti-Semitism. If we recall Theodor Adorno's on the disruptive social potential of "words from abroad" and think back to the unsettling materialism of Charles Carrington's "difficult to describe" books from abroad, we see that Nabokov was drawn to Beach not only because she had published a book that he considered to be a European masterwork, but also because she was the figurehead for what had become an extranational cultural formation that was international in outlook, defiant of book bans, and sufficiently open and flexible to accommodate different kinds of expatriate expression under its contra-censorship brand.[16] It was an encounter he never forgot—which as we will see was not true of all of his encounters.

It is not known if Nabokov met Beach again, or whether he visited her English bookshop Shakespeare and Company, but he continued to move in Paris's expatriate literary circles, even meeting Joyce a few years later in 1939 at a dinner party. There Joyce gave him a copy of *Haveth Childers Everywhere* (1930), an early version of *Finnegans Wake*.[17] This was a deluxe Paris edition that had been published in limited issue by Jack Kahane, the expatriate publisher behind Obelisk Press and the father of future Paris-pornographer Girodias. It is hard to say to what extent Nabokov took note of Kahane's edition, or consciously thought about the English books that were being published from Paris, but these linkages suggest the ways in which he interacted with various people who were involved in expatriate publishing and bookselling while he was first conceptualizing the story of *Lolita*.



8.1. "Comité de rédaction de la revue Mesures, Avray, 1937."
(Editorial board of the journal *Mesures,* Avray, 1937.)
Photo Gisèle Freund/IMEC/Fonds MCC.

Nabokov wrote his Lolita-themed short story "The Enchanter" over a couple of months late in 1939. His attempts to sell it to the Russian magazines and presses in Paris, however, proved unsuccessful. To one editor he pitched it as a story in the line of Boccaccio and Aretino, thus aligning it with literature that had for centuries been published clandestinely, often from France.[18] Perhaps because of its sexual theme, or perhaps because of the war, his story was not accepted, and it remained unpublished and then lost in a coal cellar.[19] When it was rediscovered among the papers shipped to him from Europe many years later, it was after he had penned his 1956 essay "On a Book Entitled *Lolita,*" in which he had first traced the inspiration for *Lolita* back to his Paris years. Apparently on the very day he found the story, which he said he recalled as a "dead scrap" while working on his novel, he penned a letter in early 1959 to the president of Putnam's, Walter J. Minton:

> I have just thought of an interesting little scheme.
>
> As I explained in my essay appended to your edition of LOLITA, I had written a kind of pre-LOLITA novella in the autumn of 1939

> in Paris. I was sure I had destroyed it long ago but today, as Véra and I were collecting some additional material to give to the Library of Congress, a single copy of the story turned up. . . .
>
> It is a beautiful piece of Russian prose, precise and lucid, and with a little care could be done into English by the Nabokovs. Therefore I wonder if you would be interested in publishing THE ENCHANTER somewhen, at a favorable moment—perhaps in a limited numbered edition at a rather steep price.[20]

It may have struck Nabokov as a good time to strike while *Lolita* was still hot, but he also shows how he would not let "the first little throb" that went through him in Paris go. His son, Dimitri Nabokov, emphasized the difference between the two works in an essay that accompanied his translation of *The Enchanter* in 1986. As he wrote, "*Lolita* is unquestionably the product of very new and different artistic stimuli."[21] But Nabokov himself made the connection between the two: he identified the first story as his source and made a publishing pitch for it as a "kind of a pre-Lolita novella." More than once, then, Nabokov related *Lolita* back to his Paris years, when he was networking in the twilight of the Lost Generation. He revealed, in making this connection, just how powerful that first little throb that went through him in Paris was more than a decade before he heard the name Girodias.

Writing Lolita, *Ithaca and On the Road, 1949–1953*

Nabokov began writing the second version of *Lolita* in America sometime in 1949, the "throbbing" never quite having ceased.[22] His writing progressed in broken tempo between teaching at Cornell, other writing projects, and summer vacations on the road. Much has been made of his strange method of composition, his writing out of *Lolita* on ruled index cards, often while sitting in the car while on family vacations butterfly hunting. Snatches of conversation, the rhythms of the road trip, the motel scenery—all entered into his novel about a European man's seduction of an American girl. A peripatetic life gave structure to a peripatetic novel, the road trip becoming a figure for expatriation and traveling culture. A statement later made by Nabokov in an interview is also telling about *Lolita*'s textual conditions. "When you write a book," he said, "you generally envisage its publication, in some far future."[23] This was certainly true of *Lolita* as Nabokov let an editor at Viking know about his book in 1951 while he was still in

mid-composition.[24] Nabokov's writing process was shaped especially, I contend, by his reflections on what it meant to publish and distribute a banned book. There is no explicit evidence that he foresaw that *Lolita* would become a Paris edition (though that is exactly what it would become), but he continually returned to the notion of the anathema book that could not be placed. As he wrote *Lolita,* he explored both performatively and thematically the problem of publishing an unpublishable book, as though aligning his novel with the kinds of books that could only be published and distributed in Paris.

Nabokov's handling of his *Lolita* manuscript is one of the ways in which he shows his preoccupation with the problem of publication from the beginning of the creative process. In "On a Book Entitled *Lolita,*" he revealed how an early, unfinished draft version of the novel (written out on a stack of index cards) almost met with a garden incinerator. Stopped by his wife, he realized that "the ghost of the destroyed book would haunt my files for the rest of my life."[25] Whether he puffed up this story after the fact or not, he engaged repeatedly with the idea that his book was written under public interdiction, while at the same time evoking the idea of "the culture ghost," the source that will not leave the artist alone, putting him under its "intolerable spell."[26] Later in 1953, while dictating finished chapters to his wife for typing, he threw the manuscript pages away, out the car window or into a fireplace. As Boyd writes, "Now that *Lolita* was soon to face public scrutiny—and, as its author hoped, in an anonymous edition—its manuscript pages seemed almost too hot to handle, too dangerous to keep." No written manuscript version of *Lolita* remains: all that is left are about one hundred index cards that Nabokov kept for reference.[27]

The *Lolita* typescript received the same kind of treatment, as though it were written under a publication ban. Nabokov literally kept his work under "lock and key," treating it like the pornographic wares that Carrington promoted in his clandestine catalogues as "rare and uncommon books that have been privately printed, prohibited, anathematized, burnt, or bowdlerized."[28] As Boyd discovered, Nabokov's diaries reveal how in mid-1954, a year before *Lolita* would finally be published, the author carefully hid away his two typescripts: "he shut up his two copies of *Lolita,* one a corrected typescript in two black spring binders, one an uncorrected typescript in a box. He locked them both within the desk in his office, placed the key inside another box concealed in the middle drawer

of his filing cabinet, then locked the office itself."[29] After *Lolita* was published, and already a *New York Times* bestseller, Nabokov would stage for a photographer from *Life International* a compositional scene of himself in his car writing *Lolita* on flashcards.[30] Might we not similarly interpret these other authorial scenes of him burning and concealing his manuscript and typescript as a performative pre-staging of the life of a banned book and the role of the banned author who could only be published abroad? Although he would seek out reputable and well-established American publishers, it is as if he rehearsed and anticipated the book's first appearance as a Paris edition, putting on a metatextual performance to prepare the stage for a publisher like Beach who would dare to take on his book as she had taken on *Ulysses.*

Publication is likewise an important theme in *Lolita.* The specious foreword by John Ray, Jr., which functions as frame narrative, foregrounds this theme at the outset. The reader learns that an inmate named Humbert Humbert has left his manuscript, titled "Lolita, or the Confession of a White Widowed Male," with his lawyer, empowering him "to use his discretion in all matters pertaining to the preparation of 'Lolita' for print." The lawyer then gives John Ray the manuscript to edit, which he does by correcting solecisms and concealing names and places. Straightaway he notes the difficulties of publication. Yet he also references Judge Woolsey's 1933 monumental decision on another "outspoken book," which paved the way for its publication in America (twelve years after its first publication in Paris). This was of course Joyce's *Ulysses.* Were it not for this decision, Ray would have had "to forego the publication of 'Lolita' altogether," he explains, because it would be impossible to omit certain "aphrodisiac" scenes. In introducing "Lolita" through questions of expurgation and "commercial pornography" as well as the history of an obscenity trial and famous Paris edition, Ray makes its publication a major theme. Nabokov also sneaks himself into Ray's foreword and this conversation via a literary mask. As Ray informs the reader: "'Vivian Darkbloom' has written a biography, 'My Cue,' to be published shortly, and critics who have perused the manuscript call it her best book." Vivian Darkbloom is an anagram for the wily author, who not only inserts his signature in a book he initially intended to publish anonymously, but also refocuses Ray's questions about publication onto his own novel while dangerously taking the risk that readers will read *Lolita* as strict autobiography.[31]

The protagonist, Humbert Humbert, similarly writes his memoirs

with a view to doubtful publication. As he recounts the evolution of his pathology from his birthplace in Europe to his immigration to America, he has the reader believe that the manuscript is a work in progress, written over fifty-six days first "in the psychopathic ward for observation" and then "in this well-heated, albeit tombal, seclusion."[32] Written under observation, the manuscript is thus highly unstable and under threat. Its sources are also incendiary. The early parts are based on a secret twice-written journal that he had written in "nightmare curlicues" and locked up in a little table with a key he hid in the velvet-lined case of an old razor. The diary was destroyed, after his wife discovered it, but he claims to have recalled it "by courtesy of a photographic memory."[33] His memory (and sanity) are repeatedly in question, though. If Humbert's manuscript is unstable, so is his reader. Variously imagined as a bald man with eyebrows raised so high that they travel to the back of his head, as a figure prone to skip "essential pages," and as a "blond-bearded scholar with rosy lips sucking *la pomme de sa canne*," Humbert's reader is either appalled, bored, or prurient.[34] Humbert repeatedly tries to wrangle the reader to pay attention and "Imagine me," or lure the reader in with his "fancy prose" to forget how it mirrors Lolita's "fancy embrace" (fellatio), or remind the reader of the juridic context, but the reader is usually positioned as intractable and potentially hypocritical.[35] Despite the radical uncertainty of the manuscript and the reader, Humbert nonetheless imagines his memoirs in print. About half way through his work, he writes: "This daily headache in the opaque air of this tombal jail is disturbing, but I must persevere. Have written more than a hundred pages and not got anywhere yet. My calendar is getting confused. . . . Don't think I can go on. Heart, head—everything. Lolita, Lolita, Lolita, Lolita, Lolita, Lolita, Lolita, Lolita, Lolita. Repeat till the page is full, printer."[36] Humbert thus seems to give instructions to some future typesetter (none of whom has ever followed his instructions). In the last passages of his memoirs, moreover, he again refers explicitly to their publication. He explains that at first he intended to use his notes "in toto" at the trial, but then decided to have their publication "deferred" in order not to "parade living Lolita." As always, what he says is not always trustworthy, as early on he gives his lawyer overseeing the publication of his memoirs instructions not to correct the "slip of the pen," suggesting that they were never meant for trial, but for publication. Whatever intentions he may have had for his work, he puts the matter of "Lolita's" publication in the penultimate paragraph, writing

"I wish this memoir to be published only when Lolita is no longer alive."[37]

What Humbert does not indicate is the kind of publication venue he imagines for his memoirs. His other writing, so he says, appears in academic journals and academic presses, and before leaving for America and meeting Lolita, he describes how he mingled in Paris's expatriate literary culture:

> Paris suited me. I discussed Soviet movies with expatriates. I sat with uranists in the Deux Magots. I published tortuous essays in obscure journals. . . .
>
> A paper of mine entitled "The Proustian theme in a letter from Keats to Benjamin Bailey" was chuckled over by the six or seven scholars who read it. I launched upon an "*Histoire abrégée de la poésie anglaise*" for a prominent publishing firm, and then started to compile that manual of French literature for English-speaking students (with comparisons drawn from English writers) which was to occupy me throughout the forties—and the last volume of which was almost ready for press by the time of my arrest.[38]

The title Humbert chooses for his memoirs, "Lolita, or the Confession of a White Widowed Male," however, immediately positions it outside the orbit of academic publishing. It recalls pornographic titles like *Confessions of Madame Vestris* (1891) or *The Memoirs of a Well Known Woman of Intrigue* (c. 1885) and suggests the confessional form used in both *Suburban Souls* and *Teleny*.[39] Humbert also alludes to pornographic themes and books throughout his memoirs. He indulges in fantasies that occur repeatedly in pornographic literature, for example: at one time imagining himself as a "radiant and robust Turk" in his self-made seraglio, another time horribly imagining fathering "a litter of Lolitas."[40] He also references sixteenth-century French erotic literature by Pierre de Ronsard and Remy Belleau. In his reconstructed diary, he writes, "I wonder what my academic publishers would say if I were to quote in my textbook Ronsard's "*la vermeillette fente*" or Remy Belleau's "*un petit mont feutré de mousse delicate, tracé sur le milieu d'un fillet escarlatte*" and so forth."[41] These quotations are poetic references to female gentalia. Yet further references to literary pornography appear in the final episodes of his memoirs when he meets his arch nemesis and double Clare Quilty, maker of pornographic films and abductor of Lolita. At his Duk Duk Ranch, he makes "private movies" involving "weird, filthy, fancy things" based on the Marquis de Sade's atrocious novel

Justine (1797). According to Alfred Appel's annotations, Duk is an obscene word from copulation taken from the Arabic sex-manual *The Perfumed Garden* (one of the books that Carrington published as a Paris edition in 1907).[42] Throughout, there are also numerous allusions to an even more famous Paris edition, *Ulysses*.[43] As Appel rightly observes, the promise of pornography is "withdrawn," as the explicit sexual descriptions one expects in pornographic writing are postponed. Yet, in indulging in pornographic fantasies, alluding to banned Paris editions, and giving his work a quaint pornographic title, Humbert aligns his memoirs with the kinds of books that were published abroad in Paris.

Nabokov's preoccupation with the publication of *Lolita* as he was writing the manuscript is mirrored in his protagonist's thoughts about publishing his own "Lolita." Author and protagonist both assume the same material and affective relationships with their manuscript, destroying parts of it and keeping it under lock and key. Nabokov relished authorial cameos and figured himself in anagrammatized fashion more than once. Many critics have commented on his metatextual feints and thrusts, but what strikes me with this compositional mirroring of author and protagonist and of the two *Lolitas* is the way in which it enables Nabokov to think through what it meant to publish an unpublishable book. Although there is no indication that he explicitly saw either his novel or Humbert's memoirs as Paris editions, he saw their textual conditions as similarly under ban and similarly hard to place. Coming into material life on the road, narrowly escaping an incinerator, confined under lock and key, and shadowed by a textual doppelganger written under observation, *Lolita*'s eventual voyage across the Atlantic seemed inevitable.

Finding an Address for Lolita, *Paris and New York, 1954–1958*

Nabokov's difficulties in placing *Lolita* were real, not just imagined during composition. In essays and interviews, he described the difficulties he had in publishing his novel, and his biographer Brian Boyd has also pieced together this history in meticulous detail. As they tell the story, Nabokov's desperation to have his book published led to his decision to work with a disreputable small-time Paris publisher. A close examination of his letters complicates this narrative, however, particularly when considering his exposure to expatriate literary culture in Paris and his thematization of publication

in both his novel and writing practice. Letters are always a form of mediated exchange in which the writer's intentions should be treated with caution. Nabokov's letters nevertheless offer insight into his initial decision to work with a notorious Paris publisher and his subsequent decision three years later to work with a major American publishing firm. Finding the right address for *Lolita* was the principal source of tension and speculative interest around the novel's publication. Nabokov's letters suggest that his first choice of a Paris publisher was not a mistake, but followed his intuition that Paris had produced some of the most vital and inventive literature precisely because of the "exceptional liberties of expression" it allowed.[44] His correspondence, moreover, indicates that he made use of his Paris address when he later sought out an American publisher. Although *Lolita*'s publishing history is usually discussed in terms of Nabokov's uninformed decision to publish abroad with a disreputable publisher, his actions can be seen as a form of high-risk cultural speculation that was a combination of intuition and overt strategy. Nabokov may have been "no business man," as he put it, but in the case of *Lolita* he managed to play publishing houses off each other and speculate on the concept of the book from abroad.[45]

Nabokov finished the final typescript of *Lolita* on December 6, 1953. Unlike much of his other work, he had not tried to publish parts of his novel in magazines. He had mentioned the novel to his contact at Viking, but had otherwise kept it under wraps. When he finally contacted potential publishers, he began with the big New York firms. But from the beginning he made it next to impossible for them to publish his novel, as he stuck to the theme that there was no place for it and represented it as essentially unpublishable. One of the first editors with whom he spoke about his manuscript was Katharine A. White of the *New Yorker* magazine. Contractually obligated to give the *New Yorker* first consideration of his new work, he first wrote her in September 1953 about the almost complete novel he had written amidst "monstrous misgivings." "In none of its parts will it be suitable for the *New Yorker,*" he added, but he promised to show it to her "under the rose of silence and the myrtle of secrecy."[46] Under the rose, or sub-rosa was the language of clandestine publication, as he certainly would have known. This letter was clearly not a ringing endorsement to a potential publisher. On December 23, 1953, a few weeks after Nabokov completed the manuscript, his wife wrote to White again, explaining that Nabokov could not publish under his real name, particularly as the novel was

written from the first person. The letter also reiterated his feeling that the novel was unpublishable, at least by the *New Yorker*:

> Accordingly, V. has decided to publish the book under an assumed name (provided he can find a publisher) and wait for the reviews before divulging his identity. It is of the utmost importance to him that his incognito be respected. . . . Now, suppose you decide that there is nothing in LOLITA to interest the New Yorker, would the MS still have to be read by the other members of the editorial staff, or would it be possible for you to make a final decision without it? If the MS has to be read by anyone besides you, would it be possible for you to keep V.'s name secret? Could you be quite sure that there would be no leaks?
>
> V. is very anxious to hear from you about it and have your assurance of complete secrecy before he sends you the MS. Moreover, the nature of the plot being what it is, he hesitates about mailing it. Should he make up his mind to visit New York in January, he would prefer to bring the MS personally to your house. Would it be possible to keep it away from the office? . . . He doubts, however, that any part of the book can be suitable for the New Yorker.[47]

Later correspondence suggests that White never bothered reading the book.

Over the course of the following year, as Nabokov subsequently corresponded with Viking, Simon and Schuster, New Directions, Farrar, Straus & Young, and Doubleday, he told them precisely the same thing: the work was likely unpublishable, the topic was controversial, and he did not want to put his name to it. "Would you be interested in publishing a timebomb that I have just finished putting together?" is the manner in which he opened his first letter on the subject with James Laughlin at New Directions.[48] His wife wrote the follow-up letter, creating the same kind of cloak and dagger secrecy around the manuscript as she had when writing the *New Yorker:* "Vladimir would like to be sure that you will not show it to anyone unless you are reasonably certain that you desire to publish the book. The sender named on the package will be a friend of ours living in New York."[49] To Wallace Brockway, the editor at Simon and Schuster, Nabokov sent the manuscript by Railway Express "on a highly confidential basis."[50] The manuscript was shipped off in the same manner to Farrar, Straus & Young as to Doubleday, who were next on his list of potential publishers. In his letter to Roger Straus Jr., Nabokov admitted that Laughlin at New Directions had declined the manuscript. "I did not expect him to want to publish it," he wrote, and followed

with instructions about limiting the readership and circulation of the manuscript.[51] He repeated these instructions in greater detail to Jason Epstein at Doubleday, one of his last hopes: "Please bear in mind that, if published, I would want this novel to appear under a penname. I would therefore appreciate (for the sake of preserving my incognito) if you reduced to a minimum the number of people who will read the MS for you, and, if you would withhold, even from them, the true identity of the author."[52] In his correspondence with all of these New York publishers, Nabokov anticipated their rejection of his manuscript. In stipulating that the manuscript be circulated among readers by special delivery and under cover, in order to avoid exposure or postal interference, he was also simulating pornographic distribution modes. We might think back to the secret circulation of the *Teleny* manuscript through the Librairie Parisienne, for example. As he invoked his anonymity clause and gave his smuggling instructions, did Nabokov really expect these publishers to jump on board and publish the novel he called his "little girl"?[53]

Given the nature of this correspondence, the advice he received from these presses was not surprising. Brockway at Simon and Schuster declined *Lolita* on the grounds that it was "sheer pornography," and suggested that he submit the manuscript to Grove Press.[54] Grove Press, founded by Barney Rosset in 1951, was a fledgling New York based press that had begun publishing translations of French titles by Jean Paul Sartre, Jean Genet, Simone de Beauvoir, and Samuel Beckett, but was also associated with outright pornography. Its catalogues show advertisements for reprints of Victorian pornography, and Girodias would later complain that Grove pirated much of his list.[55] The rise of Grove Press, with its French list, signals the American renewal of interest in literary Paris. Another sign of this renewal of interest in the 1950s came from Laughlin at New Directions, who was worried about the repercussions of publishing a work like *Lolita,* and advised Nabokov to publish the work abroad.[56] In steering him toward Paris, Laughlin was not necessarily dismissing *Lolita* as a foreign book out of step with American values, but rather pointing him to a newly fashionable expatriate Paris. The revised 1951 edition of Malcolm Cowley's memoir *Exile's Return,* had been widely reviewed, was popular among students, and "stood yet again as a counter to the prevailing norm"—the rise of McCarthyism and Cold War internationalism.[57] *The Paris Review,* the respected magazine bridging American and French literary cultures, was also founded in 1953.

In the midst of Nabokov's cloak and dagger negotiations with the New York publishers through 1954, he too appears to have been thinking about Paris publication. Not only did he have a connection to the expatriate circles in Paris, but he was also in the thick of the resurgent American interest in its Paris moment, with his close friend Edmund Wilson resurrecting writers like Ernest Hemingway, Paul Valéry, and Marcel Proust and temporarily standing in for Cowley as editor for the *New Republic.*[58] In 1954 Nabokov contacted his Paris agent Doussia Ergaz of Bureau Littéraire Clairouin about finding a publisher for *Lolita.* When he followed up with her again early in 1955, he suggested that she contact Beach, the publisher of *Ulysses* whom he had met in Paris. Well before he heard of Girodias, therefore, Nabokov sought out Paris publication and fancied Beach as his publisher. Both moves suggest that he imagined *Lolita* sharing *Ulysses*'s address and fitting in with Cowley's generation of exiles. Whether consciously or not, moreover, he had made it impossible for his novel to find a New York address and prepared the ground for its publication abroad. The only problem was that Beach was no longer publishing.

Having his novel published abroad was by no means the easy and straightforward option. It meant working transatlantically with an agent and a publisher, and all the logistical problems that ensue particularly when relations break down. There is a good chance that he could have secured a contract with a New York publisher at this point, if he had conceded to sign his name or agreed to publish with Grove Press.[59] Instead he decided to work with someone he never met and who was based over 3,500 miles away, literally going out of his way to be published at this address. He later claimed that he was not aware of the kind of publisher Girodias was: "I had not been in Europe since 1940, was not interested in pornographic books, and thus knew nothing about the obscene novelettes which Mr. Girodias was hiring hacks to confect with his assistance, as he relates elsewhere. I have pondered the painful question whether I would have agreed so cheerfully to his publishing *Lolita* had I been aware in May, 1955, of what formed the supple backbone of his production. Alas, I probably would, though less cheerfully." Nabokov maintained to have known only what his agent told him about the publisher's former art book imprint (Éditions du Chêne) and publication of Pauline Reage's Sadian-themed novel *The Story of O* (1954), a novel he had not read, but had heard praised.[60] But his Paris agent, with whom he had worked previously on French

translations and who proposed Girodias as a publisher, was not spectacularly incompetent. She worked for a firm that specialized in representing English writers in France and had worked with his pornographer father, Jack Kahane. As John de St. Jorre rightly argues, "It seems hard to believe that Doussia Ergaz, in the thick of the Paris publishing scene, had no inkling of the thriving pornographic side of Girodias' operations or that, being aware, she did not pass on the intelligence to her client."[61] According to Girodias, moreover, she knew full well about his business, and sought him out expressly:

> "Dear Madam," said I, "you know that my publishing house is, well, specialized, and your friend Professor Nabokov seems terribly respectable . . ."
>
> Doussia Ergaz seemed quite amused by my reaction. "Oh, I understand your hesitation!" said she. "But surely you have observed that nearly all the great writers have, at some point, written a secret book. Take Pushkin, for example."[62]

Belying Nabokov's assertion that he was not interested in pornographic books or what it meant to be published in Paris is also the letter he wrote to Edmund Wilson after shipping *Lolita* to Ergaz. "I suppose it will be finally published by some shady firm with a Viennese-Dream name—e.g., 'Silo,'" he wrote.[63] Perhaps Nabokov was also carried away by nostalgia for interwar Paris and its glamorized literary resurrection in America, but all the evidence suggests that he sought out *Lolita*'s publication in Paris in spite of the challenges of working from a distance and dealing with a disreputable publisher, linking pornography to expatriate modernism and literary controversy.

Although Nabokov was an author of considerable reputation and experience, his dealings with Girodias on contract matters and publication were rather minimal. Nabokov did not seem to balk at Girodias's strange endorsement of intergenerational relationships in his exchanges with Ergaz; he conceded to Girodias's insistence that he publish under his name, and he accepted a modest royalty scale (10 percent on the first ten thousand copies, 12 percent thereafter).[64] Ergaz and Girodias hashed out their contract on June 6, 1955, at the American hangout Harry's Bar, a nod to 1920s expatriate Paris.[65] After the signing, Nabokov sent initial sets of corrections and reviewed the galley proofs, but did not ask about publication format, distribution, or marketing. On July 6, he wrote to Girodias, "I am

delighted that you are doing LOLITA. Please rush the proofs and I shall rush them back." A few weeks later, on July 18, he suggested a few different American newspapers and periodicals to which to send review copies and added, "You and I know that LOLITA is a serious book with a serious purpose. I hope the public will accept it as such. A *succès de scandale* would distress me."[66] Yet since he began composing *Lolita,* he knew he had a "timebomb" on his hands, and seemed more than prepared to leave everything to Girodias, no questions asked. The Paris edition of *Lolita* was finally published on September 15, 1955, a green paperback that was printed and published in France, listed at nine hundred francs, and uniform with Girodias's flagship Traveller's Companion series. Referring to this edition, Nabokov would write a year later, "I find it to be a delightful presence now that it quietly hangs about the house like a summer day which one knows to be bright behind the haze."[67]

If Nabokov sought out publication in Paris and left his novel in Girodias's hands, as I have been arguing, what made him come eventually to "curse" his association with Girodias and the Paris Olympia Press?[68] According to Girodias, it was Nabokov's arrogance that was the problem, compounded by the humiliations of exile, his life as a small-time professor, and his difficulties in making a name for himself.[69] According to Nabokov, it was Girodias's shady business dealings and habitual failure to pay. In *Paris Interzone,* James Campbell gives the best account of their falling out in a collection of quotations from everyone involved in their row, and St. Jorre fills in this history with retrospective interviews with some of the peripheral people involved. To put it simply, their interests were not the same. Girodias wanted to continue profiting from his Paris edition, smuggling it into anglophone countries as he knew best, but Nabokov wanted to see it legitimately published in America, as *Ulysses* had finally been in 1933 after Judge Woolsey's decision. Perhaps Nabokov was trying to shaft Girodias out of his contract, mirroring the breakdown of relations between Joyce and Beach,[70] but I want to reframe their estrangement in relation to Nabokov's speculations on a foreign address and larger engagement with the history of Paris editions.

Nabokov turned his Paris edition of *Lolita* into a new publishing strategy: he used it as leverage to find his novel a "respectable address" in America. In financial terms, leveraging means investing borrowed money in a given investment strategy under the (risky) assumption that the return on the investment will exceed the

interest on the loan. Leveraging is also an instrument that applies to transactions in the cultural field where symbolic, social, cultural, and economic capital are all in play. In Nabokov's case, he leveraged up his novel with the dangerous cultural capital of the Paris edition as a way into the American literary market. This was a high-risk literary strategy, not only because Paris editions were such wildly volatile publishing phenomena, associated both with literary avant-gardism as well as pornography and the courts, but also because Nabokov's own Parisian publisher had different and competing interests. If Nabokov did not manage his association with the Paris firm correctly, he risked losing his reputation, going to court, facing bans, and even losing his teaching job at Cornell University. The livelihood of his family depended on his teaching and writing, and remained a serious consideration throughout his attempts to relocate his book from abroad.

Nabokov's use of his Paris edition to leverage a position in the American market did not start out as an explicit strategy, but evolved into one that he struck with one of his prospective American publishers. The Paris edition of *Lolita* did not garner much attention at first, but everything changed when novelist Graham Greene named it one of the best books of the year in the Christmas 1955 issue of the *Sunday Times.* As the British Customs already had an embargo on Olympia Press books,[71] Greene either came across the book in Paris or found a smuggled copy in Britain. This rave review was followed at the end of January 1956, by John Gordon's famous denunciation of the novel in the *Sunday Express.* Calling it "the filthiest book I have ever read" and "sheer unrestrained pornography," he added, "anyone who published it or sold it here would certainly go to prison."[72] He did not mention how he came across his banned copy, but part of his attack had to do with *where* it was published. The literary squabble that subsequently played out between these two men was picked up by a columnist for the *New York Times Book Review,* transporting the media controversy over a Paris edition to America. Harvey Breit first picked up on this squabble on February 26 and quoted Gordon's line about the novel's "sheer unrestrained pornography." As he put it, "John Gordon writes of his shock at reading a book, 'Lolita,' a long French novel about nymphets, recommended by Mr. Greene as one of the best books of 1955."[73] Breit picked up on the fact that a "French book" was at the centre of this controversy, but was perhaps confused whether the novel was written in French or in English. His readers were also possibly

confused, Breit reporting that he received a "flurry of mail" from readers either in want of more details or contributing further information. In Breit's follow-up article on March 11, he thus twice clarified that it was an English-novel published in France, and he carefully located both the book and author in the following fashion: "'Lolita' is a two-volume novel written in 'elegant English' and is published in France by The Olympia Press for 900 francs. The author is Russian-born, American citizen Vladimir Nabokov, author of several novels, including 'The Real Life of Sebastian Knight,' an autobiographical volume, 'Conclusive Evidence,' a critical study of Gogol, as well as of miscellaneous pieces for *The New Yorker*." After quoting a series of favorable critical assessments of the novel, Breit could not resist adding a final twist. "According to our various informants," he wrote, "in 'Lolita' we have a suggestion of Dostoevsky, James, Proust and Fitzgerald. Not a *real* best seller among them—so to hell with it."[74] What Breit did not realize is that his account of this "French" book would help *Lolita* eventually move up his own newspaper's bestseller list.

With Breit's article, Nabokov's Parisian "timebomb" exploded transatlantically and captured the attention of prospective publishers in France and America who began contacting him.[75] Nabokov's correspondence on *Lolita* during this period shows how he worked on making the idea of Paris editions more recognizable. To his friend Morris Bishop, who was disturbed by the book and worried about the legal ramifications, he wrote, "I have just learned that Gallimard wants to publish LOLITA [in translation]. This will give her a respectable address. The book is having some success in London and Paris." In fact, it was a *succès de scandale,* but he had already transformed his bad address into international returns. At the same time, he began drawing explicit connections between his book and *Ulysses,* another notorious Paris edition that had been branded as pornographic but was now freely available in America:

> That stuffy philistine would be just as upset if he learned that at Cornell I analyze "ULYSSES" before a class of 250 students of both sexes. I know that LOLITA is my best book so far. I calmly lean on my conviction that it is a serious work of art, and that no court could prove it to be "lewd and libertine". All categories grade, of course, into one another: a comedy of manners written by a fine poet may have its "lewd" side; but "LOLITA" is a tragedy. "Pornography" is not an image plucked out of context; pornography is an attitude and an intention. The tragic and the obscene exclude each other.[76]

He wrote a similar letter to Pascal Covici, his friend at Viking, and thus began a kind of practice of using his novel's Paris address, as well as the history from which it had emerged, to link his work with notions of literary excellence, contra-censorship, and cosmopolitanism.[77]

It was Jason Epstein, one of the editors at Doubleday who had declined *Lolita* back in 1954, who closely advised Nabokov in his business dealings through 1956 and 1957 and turned this practice into a publishing strategy that would prepare the ground for a major American edition of *Lolita*. Epstein's approach involved creating the right textual conditions for an American edition so that the publisher would not get caught up in expensive litigation. Nabokov was also keen to have his novel published by Doubleday, writing to Epstein in October 1956, "I shall certainly not make any arrangements for LOLITA in this country before discussing them with you. Everything you have done for LOLITA until now delights me. I hope you will publish the thing in its entirety someday."[78] As part of his attempt to prepare the American market, Epstein was instrumental in making arrangements for Doubleday's literary magazine the *Anchor Review* to publish excerpts from *Lolita* along with other critical commentary. The excerpts they chose, in consultation with lawyers, were carefully selected in order to minimize risk. The idea was to let *Lolita* peep out until "little by little, the country gets used to her."[79] As work on this issue was set in motion for publication the following year, Doubleday also approached Girodias with an offer to purchase the American rights for the novel. The Paris publisher, however, proved "difficult" and "ogreish," as the Nabokovs later put it, insisting on receiving 66 percent of the royalties for licensing the American edition (where usually a publisher would expect 25 percent).[80] He also wanted a "genuine partnership agreement," which Doubleday refused.[81] Managing Girodias would in fact be the principal sticking point in the Doubleday plan.

One of the main problems was the vague copyright agreement between Girodias and Nabokov. They shared copyright of the English-language edition of *Lolita* (purportedly without Nabokov's consent),[82] but their contract did not cover licensing or foreign rights. In other words Girodias could issue his edition of Olympia Press, but the agreement was unclear about whether he could sell the licensing rights for an American or British edition. For the Doubleday plan to work, even if the first offer to Girodias had fallen through, it was important to clarify the contract and also

limit Olympia Press exposure in the American market, particularly since Customs began letting copies through by mid 1956.[83] In late November 1956, Nabokov extracted a promise from Girodias not to sell the English-language rights without his written consent, as they both shared copyright. He also informed Girodias that an obscure American law protecting American labor necessitated that he restrict imports of his edition to America to 1,500 copies over five years in order not to forfeit their copyright protection to any American publisher. "We lose all protection," he warned while also emphasizing their shared interests in restricting distribution.[84] A subsequent letter from Nabokov to Girodias on December 14 additionally showed that part of his motivation for restricting distribution was to limit his association with other, unabashedly pornographic, Olympia Press titles:

> If you intend to make any publicity, would you let me see and approve your copy, as well as the list of publications in which you plan to advertise?
>
> You and I understand perfectly well that LOLITA is not the kind of book that should appeal to the kind of people you euphemistically call "amateurs". In fact, my friends here are waging an intensive campaign to establish the book as a literary achievement of artistic value and lasting importance, and to counteract the unfortunate publicity it received at the outset. Only after this has been achieved can one hope to have LOLITA published in this country.[85]

Nabokov's distancing from the Olympia Press was part of the strategy to prepare the stage for a *bona fide* American edition: the key was to leverage up the idea of the Paris edition, while keeping the green books themselves back in Paris.[86] When the Russian poet Howard Nemerov wrote the *New York Times* complaining about the U.S. Customs ban on importations of the Olympia edition of *Lolita* and reminding the righteous that America had similarly been "protected" from *Ulysses* for a number of years, the Doubleday plan was in perfect execution. Nabokov even wrote Nemerov a thank-you letter, explaining that the book was not officially banned, but tellingly not providing the poet with a copy of the green paperback novel.[87]

Thus while Nabokov worked on limiting distribution of the Olympia edition of *Lolita* in America, he did not distance himself from expatriate publishing. In fact in late 1956, as he was wrangling about distribution with Girodias, he drafted his famous essay "On a Book Entitled *Lolita*" for *Anchor Review* which twice refers to the

Olympia Press publication of his novel in Paris. The essay maps the novel's publication history, beginning with its "first little throb" in Paris, moving to his difficulties finding an American publisher who was not "shocked" and afraid of going to "jail," and finally mentioning the Paris edition. It is in this essay that he also offers his famous "aesthetic bliss" defense of the novel. As he writes, "For me a work of fiction exists only insofar as it affords me what I shall bluntly call aesthetic bliss, that is a sense of being somehow, somewhere, connected with other states of being where art (curiosity, tenderness, kindness, ecstasy) is the norm." His essay engages with the problematic of pornography—its definitional gradations, its artistic uses and failures, and its aesthetic high ground and corruptibility. He admits to using certain pornographic tropes. "Certain techniques in the beginning of *Lolita* (Humbert's journal, for example) misled some of my first readers into assuming that this was going to be a lewd book," he explains. "I realize very clearly," he adds elsewhere, "that these and other scenes will be skimmed over or not noticed, or never even reached, by those who begin reading the book under the impression that it is something on the lines of *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* or *Les Amours de Milord Grosvit.*"[88] The last title does not exist, but alludes to French slang for large penis. Thus even while mounting his defense and reminding his readers that "we are not children, not illiterate juvenile delinquents, not English public school boys," he is having his own bit of fun. His aesthetic bliss defense is also deeply compromised by the fact that Humbert repeatedly uses the word "bliss" to talk about his desire for Lolita. Nabokov wrote this essay for *Anchor Review* as part of their campaign to bring out an American edition, but he also allowed Girodias to use it in a translation for an anticensorship pamphlet he published in France called *L'Affaire Lolita* to fight the French bans.[89] My point is that both the content of this essay as well as the uses to which it was put suggest that Nabokov was not concealing his Paris publisher or neutralizing the novel's pornography while setting the stage for an American edition. The plan involved managing his "bad address."

Nabokov similarly tried to make strategic use of the controversy surrounding his Paris edition when legal trouble began brewing in France. In late December 1956, the French Ministre de l'Intérieur banned twenty-five Olympia Press titles, including Nabokov's novel. On February 16, 1957 Nabokov wrote to his *New Yorker* contact, Katherine White, with the following account of the French bans:

> I am sorry you never read the LOLITA I sent you. Fascinating things have been happening to it in France. The British Home Secretary begged the French Ministre de l'Intérieur to help him look after the morals of the British tourists by prohibiting 25 books published by The Olympia Press (LOLITA included). The French Minister obliged invoking, in the absence of a suitable law, the law against subversive political publications (!). Taking advantage of this, The Olympia Press instituted action against the Minister's decree. And the French press went wild over this attempt against the freedoms. They make a special case for LOLITA "le célèbre roman de Vladimir Nabokov". They refer to the whole thing as "l'affaire LOLITA", and Gallimard will have it out within a couple of months. Of course, the ban is only for the English-language edition published in France. With the exception of The Daily News (!) American periodicals ignore the whole business.[90]

The last sentence suggests that Nabokov hoped the *New Yorker* would write about the censorship fiasco. Just a few days later, he wrote Epstein at Doubleday for advice on whether to assist Girodias in his action against the French government. "I am rather loath of exposing myself in the company of the Olympia Press," he wrote, but added a bit later, "I wish, of course, to give every possible support to Olympia, though personally I do not care if the ban will be lifted or not, since Gallimard is going to publish the French translation anyway." Showing how he was of two minds, Nabokov was basically asking Epstein how he should manage his association with his Paris publisher. Epstein advised him against joining the suit, and Nabokov wrote Girodias accordingly.[91] Yet, even though he did not want to get involved in "lolitigation," he did not distance himself from the legal trouble: he encouraged Girodias to send his pamphlet on *L'Affaire Lolita* to a number of American editors and columnists, including White from the *New Yorker,* Breit of the *New York Times Book Review,* Edward Weeks of the *Atlantic Monthly,* among others.[92]

Nabokov's decision not to join Girodias's action against the French government helped to sour the publisher's relationship with his author.[93] But it was also Girodias's own sights on the America market that threatened the Doubleday plan and their attempts to leverage up the idea of the Paris edition, the *Ulysses* legacy, and expatriate modernism.

When a new American publisher came on the horizon in early March 1957, Nabokov tried to concretize copyright and licensing arrangements with Girodias. Nabokov wrote Girodias that a new New York firm (McDowell, Obolensky) showed interest in publish-

ing *Lolita,* and he suggested that they sign a new contract to clarify their licensing agreement and make it possible for them to sell the rights to an American publisher to their "mutual advantage." He also reminded Girodias that they otherwise risked forfeiting their rights to an American edition, writing "we have to create conditions under which an American edition can be brought out, since otherwise you could only bring in 1500 copies of the original edition—after which, by September 1960, the copyright will expire, and the loss will be yours as well as mine."[94] No new agreement materialized, however, in part because an offer was not made. Epstein, still with a view to securing *Lolita* for Doubleday, advised Nabokov against going with a smaller firm and made arrangements to purchase his next book to help float him financially.[95] Nabokov wrote Obolensky to say it was not the right time to publish *Lolita* in America, but also, most tellingly, denounced his plan simply to reprint the Paris edition. As he wrote, "When you suggested that you would get in touch with a reprint house it became clear to me that you did not realize all the implications of this case. Could you visualize LOLITA as a little paperback being offered for sale on the newstands [*sic*]?"[96] As Nabokov knew, from his later references to Girodias's "obscene novelettes" and "little green books," changing the publishing format was instrumental in separating it from the material message of Girodias's notorious Traveller's Companion Series.[97]

Through the rest of 1957, Nabokov and Girodias became embroiled in increasingly tense negotiations over the sale of the American rights. Girodias wanted to publish *Lolita* in America under his own imprint or in conjunction with another publisher, complicating the Doubleday plan. In May, Girodias indicated that he would publish *Lolita* in America under his own imprint, eliciting the blunt response from Nabokov that he was a "second-rate publisher" who could not defend the book. Nabokov tried to remind him that he too stood to profit from an agreement with a big-name publisher.[98] A few months later, Girodias also stalled Doubleday's second offer to pay an advance against a long-term option for the American rights, an offer which Nabokov himself thought was inadequate, but nonetheless saw as minimizing his risk. As he wrote to Epstein, "I would be glad to know that Olympia is tied by your contract and cannot publish the book here in a way that would be undesirable to me."[99] Doubleday, however, found itself unable to deal with Girodias and finally had to bow out. McDowell, Obolensky reentered the negotiations in November with an offer, but Nabokov was hearing

reports from his Paris agent Ergaz that Girodias was again threatening to publish an American edition under his imprint.[100] These were confirmed by a registered letter he received from Girodias that read: "I inform you that we are proceeding with the printing of a special edition of 'Lolita' for sale in the United States since it seems improbable that we will arrive at an agreement for a reprint by another publisher." Nabokov wanted to "break" with Girodias, but legal opinion was doubtful about a successful outcome from litigation.[101] In the meantime, Walter J. Minton, the president of Putnam's, who had got a hold of one of Olympia's green *Lolita*'s and expressed interest in publishing it back in August, showed moves of making an offer.[102] But Nabokov now heard that Girodias had written Grove Press about publishing an American edition, the very press he had avoided when first trying to find a publisher for his novel. Nabokov's hope for a major American edition of *Lolita* seemed less and less likely.

By the beginning of 1958, Putnam's was the only American publisher left standing. News of the lifting of the French government's ban on *Lolita* (which would not last very long, however) provided Nabokov an opportunity to strong-arm Girodias to come to an agreement on the American edition.[103] On January 16, he wrote to Girodias, threatening to obtain an injunction against his newly uncensored Paris edition of *Lolita,* on the grounds that he considered their contract in breach, unless he came to an agreement with Putnam's and signed a new agreement clarifying American, British, and foreign licensing rights. "If this does not do it," Nabokov wrote to Minton, "I shall admit to defeat."[104] After some more squabbling, an agreement with Putnam's was finally signed on March 1, 1958, on terms very favorable to Girodias who split over 40 percent of the royalties with Nabokov.[105] Finally *Lolita* had a respectable American address that had the means to turn it into a bestseller. Epstein's plan of leveraging the publicity around the embattled Paris edition to prepare the market for an American edition worked, though not for Doubleday's benefit. For Epstein, the returns on his strategy ultimately could not offset Girodias's steep rates.

Putnam's preparation of the American market for its edition followed the Doubleday plan of leveraging up the idea of the Paris edition, while separating it from the Olympia brand. As a start it designed a very different looking book than the Olympia edition. It was no longer a green-colored paperback, but a high-quality cloth-bound trade book with a white dust cover. It was Nabokov who

stipulated that he wanted "no girls," and who thought of the design for "an immaculate white jacket (rough texture paper instead of the usual glossy kind), with LOLITA in bold black lettering."[106] It was Minton's idea to include Nabokov's Doubleday essay "On a Book Entitled *Lolita*" which spoke about its Paris inspiration, his difficulties finding a vanguard publisher, and its beginnings as a Paris edition. A full-page ad that Putnam's took out in the *New York Times Book Review* carefully alluded to the British literary feud and the French bans while proudly positioning itself as the first press at last daring enough to publish this "amazing American novel" in America "where it was written." The ad corralled this book from abroad back onto respectable American soil, yet also offered the promise of a "complete" and "unabridged" version. This was brilliantly written copy that played off *Lolita*'s good and bad addresses. A list of endorsements by literary critics, again comparing the novel to *Ulysses,* also helped establish the book's literary credentials and pedigree.[107]

The first reviews of the novel, both positive and negative, all played off the controversy surrounding the Paris edition. Oliver Prescott's slammed the novel in the *New York Times* the day after its publication, calling it "disgusting" and "high brow pornography," while playing off *Lolita*'s various addresses:

> Certain books achieve a sort of underground reputation before they are published. Gossip arouses expectations that they are even nastier than the last *succès de scandale.* College students returning from visits to Paris demonstrate their newly acquired sophistication by brandishing paperbound copies. College professors write solemn critical analyses in scholarly publications. And if their authors are really lucky some act of official censorship publicizes their work to the masses. "Lolita" by Vladimir Nabokov is such a book. Mr. Nabokov is particularly lucky because his book was not censored in the United States, but in France of all places. What more could he hope for? The French ban was eventually removed and now this book written in English in the United States by a White Russian emigré can be bought legally in Paris where it was first published. Its American publication today has been preceded by a fanfare of publicity.[108]

For Minton, this review was gold. He sent a celebratory telegram to Nabokov: orders were rushing in and this "blast" added "necessary fuel to flame."[109] A week later, Lewis Nichols wrote a piece in the column "In and Out of Books" on Girodias's Olympia Press, identifying

it as *Lolita*'s first publisher. Although the article describes how Girodias characterized his business model as three-quarters "simple pornography," one-quarter "good" or "great books," the article nonetheless demystifies the man behind the "Satanic publishing house" by describing him as "rather handsome, still young, refined, well-read, and very apologetic at not looking unusual or having anything unusual to say."[110] The association with the old address remained, but was now glamorized and charmed by the force of the Putnam's imprint. A little over a month after *Lolita* came out in its first American edition, it was at the very top of the *New York Times* bestseller list and remained at the top for seven weeks.[111]

Nabokov's novel was thus transformed into an international bestseller. *Ulysses* had caused a sensation, but had never been a bestseller. After the American edition of *Lolita* was published, a trailblazing British edition published by Weidenfeld followed in 1959, one of the first books to test the waters after the passing of the new British obscenity statute.[112] The novel was translated and published around the world, and Stanley Kubrick turned the novel into a film.[113] The transformation of *Lolita* from Paris edition to American edition could be seen as a sell out on Nabokov's part. Theodor Adorno reminds us of how the destabilizing power of the foreign word becomes neutralized through assimilation into the dominant language.[114] The shock and potency of Nabokov's Paris edition of *Lolita,* with a link to a larger publishing history the author both inherited and leveraged, were perhaps similarly neutralized by its American reprinting. But Nabokov's dealings in literary real estate also unfolded as transatlantic cultural politics were realigning: the English sex book was increasingly becoming tolerated in America and Britain while Paris was becoming redundant as a publishing haven for "dirty books." In Britain, Penguin fought successfully for the open publication of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1960), and in America, Barney Rosset's Grove Press did the same for *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1959) and *Tropic of Cancer* (1961).[115] It was simply no longer necessary to launch the book from abroad from Paris.

The Gallimard Launch Party, 1959–1967

From its "first little throb" in Paris through its process of composition and publication, *Lolita* grew out of and profited from the expatriate publishing of books that ran afoul of Anglo-American

law. *Lolita*'s role in bringing Paris editions into some kind of visibility is what makes the encounter between Nabokov and Girodias at an industry party in Paris in 1959 a meaningful postscript to this history. Although they had exchanged many letters, the two had never met face to face. On October 23, 1959, the eminent French publishing house Gallimard hosted a lavish party in honor of Nabokov who, after nineteen years in America, was returning to visit Europe. Gallimard had recently released Eric Kahane's excellent French translation of *Lolita*, which, unlike its English version, was not banned in France. Over two thousand people attended the party held in the Gallimard grand salon on rue Sébastien Bottin. What happened at that party, as separately recounted by Nabokov and Girodias, spoke to more than just their vexed relationship or the proverbial clash between author and publisher over contracts, copyrights, and corrections. It revealed the struggle for Paris editions to enter historical consciousness as part of a larger extranational cultural formation when those involved in its history came to it from such divergent points of entry and were not even able to agree on whether or not they had ever met.

Even before the party, the deteriorating relationship between Nabokov and Girodias over *L'Affaire Lolita* and the American edition began spilling out in the American press. An article on "Lolita and the Lepidopterist" in the April 13, 1959, issue of *Life International* claimed that Nabokov had been "startled" and "indignant" when his Paris agent first suggested that he work with Girodias. A follow-up issue in July included a letter from Nabokov denying this statement, as he had been simply "interested in having the book published—no matter by whom." The same issue, though, included an indignant letter by Girodias.[116] Another epistolary scuffle broke out a year later over an encomiast article on Girodias in the *New York Times Book Review*. More than any other article, this one by Henry Popkin showed how leveraging up the concept of the Paris edition had helped bring this publishing phenomenon into some kind of historical recognition, however briefly:

> Olympia braves the risk, wins the dangerous book its first audience, embroils the censors, and often established that, contrary to expectation, the book is impervious to censorship. Then the other publishers move in, brandishing their checkbooks. . . .
>
> Olympia is only the latest in a long line of continental presses that pioneered in the publication of censorable writing in English, both pornography and serious avant-garde literature. Such houses brought

> out the editions of Joyce's "Ulysses" and D. H. Lawrence's "Lady Chatterley's Lover" that circulated surreptitiously for many years before they could be published in the United States.[117]

Nabokov wrote a response to this article in which he objected to Girodias's "absurd misstatement" that he did "some rewriting" at his request other than altering a few trivial French phrases.[118] He did not have to reply, but he kept managing his association with Girodias in a negative dialectic that kept activating the Paris connection.

The gloves were completely taken off in Girodias's memoir essay "Pornologist on Olympus" published by *Playboy* magazine in 1961. It was in this article that he first wrote about his encounter with Nabokov at the Gallimard launch party in 1959. He warms himself up by accusing the author of egomaniacally dropping him once other publishers began making offers and not giving his "boosting and hustling" due credit for his novel's success. As he put it, "I doubt that *Lolita* would have sold many thousands of copies had one of the American firms to which it had first been submitted six or seven years ago, decided to publish it. The charm of the book seems to me too esoteric, its perversity too symbolic, to win large audiences on the strength of its intrinsic appeal." His account of the party is more amusing, but a no less damning account of the author's ego. His brother Eric Kahane, as the French translator of *Lolita*, had been invited to the party, but Girodias was not supposed to have been there. It was the work of a mischievous Gallimard secretary who decided to add him to the guest list:

> My arrival upon the crowded scene was like something out of *Macbeth.* Twenty cameras were at the ready; the members of the Gallimard family looked on, horrified, while I slowly progressed toward the author through a sea of bodies. I realized that Nabokov identified me when his gaze left a microphone to fix on my face. In his vicinity I found Doussia Ergaz, his literary agent and patient supporter, who looked at me in terror as I explained to her that, having been our initial intermediary, it would now be fitting that she introduce us to each other. So we were introduced; the only image fixed by the cameras show two grins, a little forced perhaps. But grins nevertheless. The few sentences we exchanged were disordered but not unfriendly; . . . With the easy grace of a dolphin he plunged backwards and sideways, and made his way towards Mrs. Nabokov who was standing nearby, quite unaware of the scene.

The next day, according to Girodias, Ergaz phoned him to say that

Nabokov later that night denied having met Girodias at the party: "Girodias? Was he there? I never saw him. . . ." And that is exactly what Nabokov confirmed when he wrote a response to the piece in a letter to *Playboy* a few months later: "I wish to refute Mr. Girodias' bizarre charge that I was aware of his presence at the Gallimard cocktail party in October 1959. . . . I remained completely and blissfully ignorant of having exchanged a polite grin with the Olympian Pornologist."[119]

Nabokov's denial did not end matters, however. In 1965 Girodias published another version of their non-encounter in the *Evergreen Review,* an American magazine published by Rosset.[120] Right on cue, Nabokov wrote a counter-attack article published in a later issue of the *Evergreen Review* in which he accuses the "flexible memoirist" of an exaggerated view of his contributions to *Lolita*'s success:

> He repeats in his article one of his favorite arguments that without him *Lolita* would have never been published. As I wrote him on August 3, 1957, I was, and am, deeply grateful to him for printing that book. But I must also point out to him that he was not the right person to undertake the thing; he lacked the means to launch *Lolita* properly—a book that differed so utterly in vocabulary, structure, and purpose (or rather absence of purpose) from his other much simpler commercial ventures, such as *Debby's Bidet* or *Tender Thighs.* Mr. Girodias greatly exaggerates his powers. Had not Graham Greene and John Gordon clashed in London in such providential fashion, *Lolita*—especially its second volume which repelled so-called "amateurs"—might have ended in the common grave of Traveller's Favorites or whatever Olympia's little green books were called.

Nabokov once again denies ever having met Girodias at the infamous Gallimard party, and undertakes a viciously funny exegesis of Girodias's articles on the subject:

> As I pointed out in my rejoinder, even *if* Mr. Girodias was introduced to me (which I doubt), I did not catch his name; but what especially invalidates the general veracity of his account is the little phrase he slips in about my having "very obviously recognized" him as he was slowly swimming toward me amid the "bodies." Very obviously, I could not have recognized somebody I had never seen in my life; nor can I insult his sanity by suggesting he assumed I had somehow obtained his picture (in the days of the famous *curriculum vitae*) and had been cherishing it all those years.
>
> Let me repeat: I have never met Mr. Girodias. He has been described

as "fascinating," and "debonnair," [*sic*] and "exuding French charm"; that is about all I have to go upon when trying to picture him to myself as a physical being (his moral aspect I know well enough). However, half a dozen years after the beginning of our gappy correspondence, he suddenly proclaimed in a *Playboy* article (*Pornologist on Olympus,* April, 1961) that we had been actually introduced to each other at a cocktail party given by Gallimard on October 23, 1959, in Paris, despite my warning my agent I did not want to meet him. The details he gave were so absurd that I saw myself obliged to call his bluff, and did so in the July issue of *Playboy.* Instead of the stunned silence that I expected would last for ever, Mr. Girodias after brooding on my little note and his imaginary past during the next four years, comes up now with a new version of the event in his *Evergreen* piece. The discrepancies between the two variants are typical of apocrypha. In *Playboy* we have a classical description of "the members of the Gallimard family" looking on "horrified" while Mr. Girodias "slowly progressed toward the author through a sea of bodies" (a splendid image, that sea). In *Evergreen,* there are no Gallimards, but we find, instead, Monique Grall "doubled over in helpless mirth, in a corner" and another lady, Doussia Ergaz, "hiding in a corner" (i.e., another corner) and, most unconvincingly, "choking on a macaroon." In the *Playboy* codex, Mme. Ergaz is described as Mr. Nabokov's "literary agent and patient supporter." In the *Evergreen* scroll, she has become Mr. Girodias' "dear, suffering, terrified friend." In *Playboy,* he and I exchange a few "not unfriendly" sentences. In *Evergreen,* the great meeting is wordless: I limit myself to a "vacuous grin" and immediately turn away to talk "ardently" to a "Czech reporter" (an unexpected and rather sinister personage of whom one would like to hear more from our chronicler.) Finally, and rather disappointingly, the passage in *Playboy* about the quaint way I "plunged backwards and sideways with the easy grace of a dolphin" is now replaced by the "graceful ease of a circus seal"; whereupon Mr. Girodias "went to the bar and had a drink" (plain *Playboy*) or "went to down a few glasses of champagne" (lush *Evergreen*).

I am looking forward to Mr. Girodias' third version of our mythical meeting. Perhaps he will discover at last that he had crashed the wrong party and talked to a Slovak poet who was being feted next door.[121]

And yet Nabokov's excoriating rejoinder was *still* not enough to humiliate Girodias into submission. Girodias had the physical proof that he and Nabokov had met at the party, a photograph of himself, his brother, and Nabokov sharing "conversational grins."



8.2. Maurice Girodias, Eric Kahane, and Vladimir Nabokov at the Gallimard party, October 1959, Paris. *Evergreen Review* 47 (June 1967), 18.

This press photograph appeared in the next issue of *Evergreen Review* as Girodias's final quid quo pro (fig. 8.2).[122]

It really does not matter if Nabokov met Girodias or not. Nabokov's team insisted they never met; Girodias's team insisted that Nabokov cut him.[123] Their inability to come to terms about their encounter is utterly farcical. And what does the grainy photograph of maniacally grinning men really prove? No one's line of sight seems to match up. What the photographer captured was more than the encounter between author and publisher. While looking at the photograph, I am reminded of Roland Barthes's notion of the *punctum:* the accidental detail and the stigmatum of time captured in the photograph.[124] In the maniacal grins and mismatched gazes of the three men (and onlooking photographer) awkwardly brought together, eager to spring apart, I see the uneven history of Paris editions momentarily caught on camera and brought into historical recognition, right as they were facing redundancy. By the mid-1960s, Girodias had left Paris and gone bankrupt, and the Paris sex book was a thing of the past. "France was proving itself more pudibund than the Anglo-Saxon countries," as Boyd puts it.[125] But this photograph, dug up and perhaps even doctored by Girodias, is a material fragment of an extranational cultural formation that for over seventy years provided haven for both people and books moving between different exiles and cultures in sundry forms of literary and social revolt with the anglophone world. These kinds of disconnected, unconsolidated fragments also make up the image of the past and remain our culture ghosts in the here and now of recognizability.[126]

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NOTES

Introduction

1. Maurice Girodias, preface to *The Paris Olympia Press,* by Patrick Kearney (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007), x. I discuss many of these Paris editions, and their bibliographies, in the chapters that follow, but in brief: *Randiana or Excitable Tales* (Paris: Société des Bibliophiles [Carrington], 1898); Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1901; Paris: Charles Carrington, 1905); Barbary Birchenough, *Rachel Rodskiss* (London and Paris: n.p. [Roberts and Dardaillon], 1909); James Joyce, *Ulysses* (Paris: Shakespeare and Company, 1922); D. H. Lawrence, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (Paris: Lecram Press, 1929); Evelyn Waugh, *Vile Bodies* (1930; Boston: Little, Brown, 1944), 22–23; James Joyce, *Haveth Childers Everywhere* (Paris: H. Babou and J. Kahane, 1930); Henry Miller, *The Tropic of Cancer* (Paris: Obelisk Press, 1934); Frank Harris, *My Life and Loves* (Paris: Obelisk Press, 1934); and Valerie Solanas, *SCUM Manifesto* (New York: Olympia Press, 1968).
2. Noel Fitch Riley, *Sylvia Beach and the Lost Generation: A History of Literary Paris in the Twenties and Thirties* (London: Norton, 1985); and Hugh Ford, *Published in Paris: A Literary Chronicle of Paris in the* 1920*s and* 1930*s* (New York: Macmillan, 1988). Also see *Midnight in Paris,* film, directed by Woody Allen (2011; DVD, Warner Home Video, 2012).
3. D. H. Lawrence, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1960).
4. Peter Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English, 1800–1930: A Bibliographical Study* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993), 23.
5. See, for example, Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990); *Suspension of Perception: Attention, Spectacle, and Modern Culture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999); Mary Ann Doane, *The Emergence of Cinematic Time: Modernity, Contingency, the Archive* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002); and Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).
6. Colette Colligan, *The Traffic in Obscenity from Byron to Beardsley: Sexuality and Exoticism in Nineteenth-Century Print Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave

Macmillan, 2006). Also see Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Photography at the Dock: Essays on Photographic History, Institutions, and Practices* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991); and Linda Williams, *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure, and the Frenzy of the Visible* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

7. James Joyce, *Ulysses* (London: John Lane, 1936); and John Cleland, *Fanny Hill: Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (1749; London: Mayflower Books, 1970).
8. Allison Pease, preface to *Modernism, Mass Culture, and the Aesthetics of Obscenity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), xi–xvi.
9. Guillaume Apollinaire, Fernand Fleuret, and Louis Perceau, *L'Enfer de la Bibliothèque nationale: bibliographie méthodique et critique de tous les ouvrages composant cette célèbre collection* (1913; Paris: Bibliothèque des curieux, 1919). The bibliographies of these titles are complex, but production can be traced to Paris: see, for example, *Untrodden Fields of Anthropology: Observations on the Esoteric Manners and Customs of Semi-civilized Peoples* (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles [Carrington], 1896); *The Initiation of Aurora Trill* (London [Paris]: n.p. [Hirsch] 1903); and *Memoirs of a Russian Ballet Girl,* by E.D. (London [Paris]; n.p. [Hirsch], 1903). For further bibliographical information on the English entries, see Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English.*
10. See Walter Benjamin, "On the Concept of History" and "Paralipomena to 'On the Concept of History,'" in *Selected Writings,* 1938–1940, vol. 4, ed. Michael W. Jennings and Howard Eiland (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), 389–400 and 401–11.
11. Ian Balfour, "Reversal, Quotation (Benjamin's history)," *MLN (Modern Language Notes)* 106, no. 3 (1991): 624–47, see 647.
12. Benjamin, "On the Concept of History," 391; Balfour, "Reversal, Quotation (Benjamin's history)," 636.
13. Balfour, "Reversal, Quotation (Benjamin's history)," 646.
14. Benjamin, "Paralipomena," 406.
15. See "The State Disseminator of Obscenity," *Truth* (June 10, 1897), 1468–70.
16. D. H. Lawrence, "Pornography and Obscenity," in *Late Essays and Articles,* ed. James T. Boulton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 250.
17. Vernon Lee, "A Wicked Voice," in *Hauntings* (London: Heinemann, 1890); and see Vineta Colby's *Vernon Lee: A Literary Biography* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003), 242, 245.
18. Benjamin wrote extensively about Paris, where he lived for a number of years, but see, for example, "Paris, the Capital of the Nineteenth Century," in *Selected Writings,* 1938–1940, 32–49.
19. Raymond Williams, *The Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists* (London: Verso, 1989), 45; quoted in Brent Hayes Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 4.
20. Brent Hayes Edwards, *Practice of Diaspora;* and Brooke L. Blower, *Becoming Americans in Paris: Transatlantic Politics and Culture between the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
21. Samuel Putnam, *Paris Was our Mistress: Memoirs of a Lost and Found Generation* (New York: Viking, 1947).

22. Edward Said, "Reflections on Exile," in *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 181. I am drawing on James Clifford's notion of "discrepant cosmopolitanism" to articulate the double condition of the expatriate, a figure whom I ultimately position between the cosmopolitan and the exile; see James Clifford, "Traveling Cultures" in *Cultural Studies,* ed. Grossberg et al. (New York: Routledge, 1992), 108.
23. See, for example, May Holdsworth and Caroline Courtauld, *Foreign Devils: Expatriates in Hong Kong* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 207–8, 216, 257–59.
24. See Edwards, *Practice of Diaspora,* 15.
25. Edward Said, "The Voyage In: Third World Intellectuals and Metropolitan Cultures," in *Arab Nation, Arab Nationalism,* ed. Derek Hopwood (Oxford: St. Antony's College, 2000), 100; and Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1993), 288–315. On different kinds of international or "paranational" cultural formations, see Raymond Williams, *Culture* (Glasgow: Fontana Paperbacks, 1981), 84–85.
26. Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 35, 39.
27. In his preface to *Registrum Librorum Eroticorum,* Rolf S. Reade (Alfred Rose) wrote about the bibliographical ruses in clandestine book publication more generally: "Very often the date printed on the title-page is false, or there is no date at all, and the date of publication is fictitious, or misleading. . . . Again, purely fictitious names are given to the place of publication: names made up from erotic ideas, with absurd dates, as in the case of "La Belle Gauchoise," published at Libindinbus, chez Sensualité, à la Delicatessen, rue du Temperament, in the year 10308070; and "le Bijou de Société," à Paphos, l'An des Plaisirs; see Reade Rolf S. (Alfred Rose), *Registrum Librorum Eroticorum,* 2 vols. (London: Privately Printed for subscribers, 1936), vii.
28. Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social,* 32, 41.
29. Charles Hirsch, "Notice bibliographique extraite des notes et souvenirs d'un vieux bibliopole," in *Teleny: Étude physiologique, traduit de l'anglais sur le manuscrit original revisé par l'auteur* (Paris: Edition privée, souscrits par les membres du Ganymède Club de Paris [Charles Hirsch], 1934), 5–12; D. H. Lawrence, "A Propos of *Lady Chatterley's Lover,*" in *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (London: Mandrake Press, 1930); George Orwell, "Inside the Whale," in *The Collected Essays, Journalism, and Letters of George Orwell: An Age Like This,* 1920–1940, ed. Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, 1968), 493–502; and Vladimir Nabokov, "On a Book Entitled *Lolita,*" in *The Annotated Lolita,* ed. Alfred Appel Jr. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), 313–19. Also see Theodor Adorno, "Words from Abroad," in *Notes to Literature,* vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), 185–99.
30. See correspondence between Walter Benjamin and Sylvia Beach, October 26, 1939, and November 4, 1939, Sylvia Beach Papers, C0108, box 186, Princeton University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.
31. Andrew Prescott, "Archives of Exile: Exile of Archives," in *What Are*

Archives? Cultural and Theoretical Perspectives: A Reader, ed. Louise Craven (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2008), 132.

32. Dipesh Chakrabarty's postcolonial discussion of how to write minority histories influences the recursive approach I have taken for structuring my book. In confronting how subaltern histories challenge traditional methods of historiography, Chakrabarty argues that "the writing of history must implicitly assume a plurality of times existing together, a disjuncture of the present with itself"; see Chakrabarty's *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 97–113.
33. James Nelson, *Publisher to the Decadents: Leonard Smithers in the Careers of Beardsley, Wilde, Dowson* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000); Hugh Ford, *Published in Paris: American and British Writers, Printers and Publishers in Paris,* 1920–1939 (London: Garstone, 1975); Neil Pearson, *Obelisk: A History of Jack Kahane and the Obelisk Press* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007); and Patrick Kearney, *Paris Olympia Press.* Also see Rachel Potter, "Obscene Modernism and the Trade in Salacious Books," *Modernism/modernity* 16, no. 1 (2009): 87–104.
34. Colette Colligan, *Traffic in Obscenity,* 8, 10–12.
35. Jerome McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).
36. Alec Craig, *The Banned Books of England and Other Countries. A Study of the Conception of Literary Obscenity* (London: George Allen, 1962), 156.

1. *British Cultural Policy and the Rise of Paris Editions, 1890–1914*

1. A Paris Observer, "Visitors of Unclean Mind," *LA,* September 11, 1926, 589–90.
2. "The State Disseminator of Obscenity," *Truth,* June 10, 1897, 1468–70.
3. Lisa Sigel also discusses some of these records and the Home Office's concern about the international scale of pornographic publications; see Lisa Sigel, *Governing Pleasures: Pornography and Social Change in England,* 1815–1914 (Rutgers University Press, 2002).
4. Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 15–29.
5. Steven Marcus, *The Other Victorians: A Study of Sexuality and Pornography in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England* (New York: Basic, 1866). For recent scholarship on London's pornography trade, see Iain McCalman, *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries and Pornographers in London,* 1795–1840 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-Century London* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Sigel, *Governing Pleasures;* and Colette Colligan, *The Traffic in Obscenity from Byron to Beardsley: Sexuality and Exoticism in Nineteenth-Century Print Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).
6. The Obscene Publications Act, 1857, 20 & 21 Vict. c. 83; the Customs Consolidation Act, 1876, 39 & 40 Vict., c. 36; the Post Office Protection Act, 1884, 47 & 48 Vict., c. 76; and the Indecent Advertisement Act, 1889, 52 & 53 Vict., c. 18. To consult these British statutes, see www.legislation.gov.uk.

7. William Lazenby's trial was covered by the *Times* (London), on November 8, 1886, 4; November 13, 1886, 12; and November 27, 1886, 12. He was imprisoned a number of times for selling obscene publications, first in 1871, again in 1876, and finally in 1886, after which he disappeared: see entries for Henry Ashby, William Lazenby, and Duncan Cameron in "England and Wales, Criminal Registers, 1791–1892," www.ancestry.co.uk/search/db.aspx?dbid=1590. Also see Peter Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English, 1800–1930: A Bibliographical Study* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993), 4–6 and 437–41.
8. The *Times* (London) followed Henry Vizetelly's prosecutions in 1888 and 1889 closely: see August 11, 1888, 13; September 18, 1888, 10; September 21, 1888, 10; November 1, 1888, 13; February 2, 1889, 4; May 2, 1899, 3; and May 31, 1889, 12. For coverage of George Bedborough's trial for selling Havelock Ellis's *Sexual Inversion,* vol. 1 of *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (Watford: University Press [Roland de Villiers], 1897), see, for example, the *Times* (London), August 10, 1898, 7.
9. Nead, *Victorian Babylon,* 149–215; and Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 23.
10. *Report from the Joint Select Committee on Lotteries and Indecent Advertisements, Together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendices* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1908), 66. The National Vigilance Association (1885–1953) was an advocacy group that campaigned for a variety of issues concerning public morality. For a comparative list of nineteenth-century obscenity laws in other countries, see confidential correspondence from Post Office (hereafter PO) to Home Office (hereafter HO), November 10, 1891, National Archives (NA), HO 144/238/A52539B.
11. See PO to HO, November 10, 1891, NA, HO 144/238/A52539B; and PO to HO, October 15, 1894, NA, HO 144/192/A46657D.
12. Mendes, however, admits confusion about whether some of these titles emanated from Paris or Amsterdam; see *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 213.
13. *Sporting Times,* March 5, 1892, 8. For information on this British weekly and other British magazines where these dealers advertised, see *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland,* ed. Laurel Brake et al. (London: British Library, 2009), 594–95.
14. To review a handwritten list prepared by the PO of the warrants authorized between February 1891 to March 1898, see "Indecent Articles Sent by Post," NA, HO 45/9752/A59329.
15. *Parliamentary Debates,* Commons, vol. 330 (November 12, 1888), cols. 892–93; *Parliamentary Debates,* Commons, vol. 335 (April 11, 1889), cols. 247–49. Also see A. Lentin, "Matthews, Henry, Viscount Llandaff (1826–1913)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online ed. (September 2011), www.oxforddnb.com.
16. HO to FO, January 12, 1892, NA, HO 151/5.
17. H. C. G. Matthew, "Asquith, Herbert Henry, first earl of Oxford and Asquith (1852–1928)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online ed. (September 2011), www.oxforddnb.com.
18. HO to FO, September 8, 1894, NA, FO 83/1786. For further information on British diplomatic overtures to foreign governments to suppress the traffic of pornography, see the PO reports on "The Stoppage of Letters

to or from Dealers in Obscene Matter," signed March 10, 1898, NA, HO 45/9752/A59329 and "Accounts of steps taken by Home Office in 1891 and 1892 to procure prosecution of dealers in indecent wares," November 20, 1896, Royal Mail Archive (hereafter RMA), POST 33/5691. A summary of this history was later given by the solicitor of the Post Office in 1908 for the Joint Select Committee on Lotteries and Indecent Advertisement; see *Report from the Joint Select Committee,* 18.

19. Mathieu Deflem, *Policing World Society: Historical Foundations of International Police Cooperation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 45–77.
20. *Report from the Joint Select Committee,* 18.
21. Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker, "A New Model for the Study of the Book," in *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society, The Clark Lectures,* 1986–1987, ed. Nicholas Barker (London: British Library, 1993), 22–26.
22. PO to HO, June 13, 1894, NA, HO 144/238/A52539E.
23. Letter intercepted by PO, July 6, 1894, NA, HO 144/238/A52539E.
24. Geert Mak, *Amsterdam: A Brief Life of the City* (London: Harvill Press, 1999), 221–22.
25. Ministère des Affaires étrangères, The Hague to Foreign Office (hereafter FO), December 15, 1894, NA, FO 83/1786. Warrants against the publisher-bookseller August Brancart show that he was based in de Pijp in the late 1880s and early 1890s. The Amsterdam Trade Directories (*Algemeen AddresBoek der Stad Amsterdam)* also list a number of booksellers operating from the area during this period, some of whom were targeted by the British. For a discussion of clandestine publishing in Holland, see Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 24–30 and Jean-Pierre Dutel, *Bibliographie des ouvrages erotiques,* 1880–1920, vol. 1 (Paris: J. P. Dutel, 2005), 8–14.
26. PO to HO, August 21, 1894, NA, HO 144/238/A52539E.
27. PO memorandum, August 21, 1894, RMA, POST 33/5691. See "Indecent Articles Sent by Post," NA, HO 45/9752/A59329.
28. See "Indecent Articles Sent by Post," NA, HO 45/9752/A59329.
29. Belgrade to HO, September 20, 1894, NA, HO 144/192/A46657D.
30. HO to FO, December 8, 1894, NA, FO 83/1786. These dealers were tracked down to 190 Govert Flinckstraat in de Pijp. Also see the summaries of these warrants in RMA, POST 33/5691.
31. Vienna to HO, January 12, 1895 and February 15, 1895, NA, HO 144/192/A46657D.
32. The Hague to FO, February 15, 1895, NA, FO 83/1786.
33. *Le Figaro,* January 31, 1895, 3. Also see PO to HO, February 13, 1895, NA, HO 144/238/A52539E.
34. The Hague to FO, February 15, 1895, NA, FO 83/1786. Other Amsterdam dealers watched by the British government were Arthur Hartog Cohen, Samuel Marks, and E. F. A. Schlöffel: files on them can be found in NA, HO 151/5 and FO 83/1786.
35. HO to FO, April 30, 1896 and August 24, 1896, NA, HO 151/6. Also see "Stoppage of Letters," NA, HO 45/9752/A59329.
36. See "Dealers in Indecent Wares on the Continent Who Are Known to Attempt to Do Business in England," stamped on December 2, 1912,

NA, HO 144/10130. In 1910, a new series of postal warrants was issued for Adolphe Ebert, J. F. Engels, Jose Alvers, Arthur La Clauy, and others in Barcelona. Ebert was suspected of using the names Engels, Zàrubaly, and Alvers as aliases, and of being somehow connected to Estinger, one of the original ringleaders. Listed among "Dealers in Indecent Wares on the Continent," Estinger was believed to be trading under the name Recknagel in Munich and "connected with Ebert of Barcelona." French expulsion records from 1910 identify Ebert as Ramlo, confirming the connection between the original Amsterdam gang (Estinger, Ramlo) with the later network operating out of Barcelona, Munich, and also Paris (Ebert, Schroeter, Recknagel), *États signalétiques des étrangers expulsés de France,* Ministère de l'Intérieur, Police nationale, 1899–1938, no. 19980182, f. 467, Archives nationales, site de Fontainebleau.

37. See, for example, Schroeter's ads in the *Illustrated London Standard* (*ILS*), March 20, 1897 and the *Sporting Mirror* April 26, 1897; Ramlo's ads in *Sporting Times,* January 14, 1893; Gomez's ads in *ILS,* October 30, 1897; and Recknagel's ads in *Judy,* January 6, 1897. Also see ads placed by Gennert, Cohen, Recknagel, and others, in *Le Fin-de-Siècle,* March 12, 1899, and *Le Sourire,* February 9, 1901.
38. Jean Baudrillard, *The Ecstasy of Communication,* ed. Sylvère Lotringer, trans. Bernard and Caroline Schutze (New York: Semiotext(e), 1988), 35. Up until now, there has been no sustained empirical work on the production and circulation of pornographic photographs in Europe. Work in this field has been more theoretical in nature, focused especially on types of looking and forms of representation: see Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Photography at the Dock: Essays on Photographic History, Institutions, and Practices* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991); and Linda Williams, *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure, and the Frenzy of the Visible* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).
39. PO to HO, October 15, 1894, NA, HO 144/192/A46657D.
40. Few books were brought before the French criminal courts between 1881 and 1910, according to Annie Stora-Lamarre, *L'Enfer de la IIIe République: censeurs et pornographes,* 1881–1914 (Paris: Imago, 1989), 201.
41. Clifford Rosenberg, *Policing Paris: The Origins of Modern Immigration Control between the Wars* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 37.
42. PO to HO, October 27, 1894, NA, HO 144/192/A46657D.
43. HO to FO, September 2, 1895, NA, FO 83/1786.
44. See "Indecent Articles Sent by Post," NA, HO 45/9752/A59329.
45. PO to HO, August 12, 1896, NA, HO 144/192/A46657D.
46. *Marriage-Love and Woman amongst the Arabs, otherwise entitled The Book of Exposition,* literally translated from the Arabic by an English Bohemian (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1896); and *Old Man Young Again, or the Age-Rejuvenescence in the Power of Concupiscence,* literally translated from the Arabic by an English "Bohemian" (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1898). See Sir Richard Burton's publications, *The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night,* 10 vols., trans. Richard F. Burton (London: Printed by the Kama Shastra Society, 1885–[6]); and *The Kama Sutra of Vatsayana* (Benares: Printed for the Hindoo Kama Shastra Society, For Private Circulation Only, 1883).

47. For information on Matthew Ridley, see Reginald Lucas, "Ridley, Matthew White, first Viscount Ridley (1842–1904)," rev. Jane Ridley, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online ed., www.oxforddnb.com.
48. HO to PO, January 4, 1897, NA, HO 151/7; also see "Indecent Articles Sent by Post," NA, HO 45/9752/A59329. Lazenby's alias "Ashley" is worth noting, as it may provide a clue as to how Carrington got introduced to the pornographic book trade in London. One of Carrington's older sisters married a man named James Ashley.
49. See "The State Disseminator of Obscenity," 1469. The British government's surveillance of Carrington was extensive; see, for example, HO to PO, March 19, 1896, NA, HO 151/6; HO to FO, June 20, 1896, NA, FO 83/1786; FO to HO, June 29, 1896, NA, HO 144/192/A46657D; FO correspondence, October 20, 1899, NA, FO 83/1786; and HO to PO, January 13, 1899, NA, HO 151/6; and Customs correspondence, November 21–22, 1901, NA, CUST 46/199. Lemallier appears to have extracted himself from the clandestine side of the business to become a reputable bookseller in Paris. *The International Directory of Booksellers and Bibliophile's Manual* (Rochdale: J. Clegg, 1914) shows that Carrington and Lemallier later had commercial addresses on rue Châteaudun, but there is no other evidence of a link between the two men.
50. PO correspondence, November 23, 1896, RMA, POST 33/5691; and HO to PO, December 3, 1896, NA, HO 151/6.
51. PO to HO, October 27, 1897, NA, HO 144/192/A46657D; and PO to HO, October 29, 1897, NA, HO 151/7. These titles were published by Carrington: *The Cabinet of Venus* (London: Printed by the Erotica-Bibliomaniac Society [Carrington], 1896); *The Spanish Gallant. A Story of a Castilian Libertine* (Valparaiso: Printed for the Erotica-Bibliomaniac Society [Carrington], 1897); and *The Birchen-Bouquet* (London: For Private Subscribers Only [Carrington], 1896). Also see Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English,* 159–61, 262–64, 281–82.
52. Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 281–82.
53. A description of the Roberts/Mercier trial appears in the *Folkestone Express,* January 15, 1898 and is included in correspondence between the PO and HO, NA, HO 144/192/A46657D. For further information on this dealer, see the notes from the meeting between PO and HO on the use of postal warrants, February 18, 1898, RMA, POST 122/1010.
54. See "Indecent Articles Sent by Post," NA, HO 45/9752/A59329; and PO to HO, April 22, 1897, NA, HO 144/192/A46657E. August Brancart had moved to Antwerp from Amsterdam sometime around 1894, so there may have been a connection between Van Dyck and Brancart; for additional information on Brancart's publishing activities, see Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 25–26 and Jean-Pierre Dutel, *Bibliographie des ouvrages érotiques,* 13–14. Although Brancart disappears from the records after he moved to Antwerp, he reappears in Paris in 1909–10 when he was expelled by the French ministre de l'Intérieur: a physical description of him can be found in *États signalétiques des étrangers expulsés de France,* Ministère de l'Intérieur, Police nationale, 1899–1938, no. 19980182, f. 458, Archives nationales, site de Fontainebleau.

55. *Sheaves from an Old Escritoire* (London: Printed and published by Henry Robinson [Carrington?], 1896); *The Life and Adventures of Silas Shovewell* (London: Printed for the Booksellers [Carrington?], 1896); and *Memoirs of a Russian Princess* (London: Privately Printed [Carrington?], 1890 [c. 1900]). Also see Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English,* 154, 199, 268.
56. For coverage of Van Dyck's trial, see the *Times* (London), June 1, 1897, 15 and June 5, 1897, 14. For later government reports on him, see HO to FO, November 15, 1900, NA, FO83/1786 and HO to FO, February 13, 1901, NA, FO 83/2101. Van Dyck's connections were mysterious. He may have been a go-between for the bookseller-publisher August Brancart. Or he may have been the "amiable Vandyke" mentioned in the letters of the Decadent poet Ernest Dowson in connection with the London publisher Leonard Smithers; see Desmond Flower and Henry Maas, eds., *The Letters of Ernest Dowson* (London: Cassell, 1967), 410. He could also have been the inspiration for the pornographic bookseller-publisher "Vanderpunk" in the fictional account of Carrington's business activities in *Suburban Souls: The Erotic Psychology of a Man and a Maid* (Paris: Printed for distribution amongst private subscribers only [Carrington], 1901).
57. See, for example, Bouvier's ads in the *Sporting Mirror,* May 1, 1899, 7; and *Judy,* January 4, 1899, 1. The government issued warnings to these cheap weeklies, and the editor of *Judy,* Edward de Marney, was even imprisoned for two months for publishing such ads: see New Scotland Yard to HO, April 11, 1906, NA, HO 45/109301/49778; the *Times* (London), October 31, 1906, 3 and January 9, 1907, 3; and *Report from the Joint Select Committee,* 32.
58. See correspondence between the PO and HO, November 7, 1898, January 24 & 30, 1899, NA, HO 151/6.
59. See Foreign Office correspondence, April 13, 1899, NA, FO 83/1786. The British government did not make the connection between Bouvier and the man who went by the name Tindall and John Ashley, imprisoned in 1886 for selling in London indecent French books by Zola; see the *Times* (London), December 20, 1885, 8, and January 9, 1886, 12; also see *England and Wales, Criminal Registers,* 1791–1892, at www.ancestry.co.uk/search/db.aspx?dbid=1590. Bouvier remained under British surveillance for a number of years from different locations in Europe: see, for example, HO to FO, January 7, 1903, NA, FO 83/2101; and PO correspondence, January 5, 1908, NA, HO 45/10510/129433.
60. HO to FO, September 30, 1902, and January 15, 1903, NA, FO 83/2101, which includes a report from the Metropolitan Police from January 6, 1903. Also see PO to HO, December 17, 1902, RMA, POST 33/5691. Little is known about this dealer, except that the 1903 Didot-Bottin Paris postal directory lists him as a teacher, "professeur d'anglais" (English teacher).
61. These books were mostly reprints by the shadowy Parisian dealers; see, for example, *With Rod and Bum* (London and New-York: Printed for the Erotica Biblion Society [Gaucher], 1898); and *Forbidden Fruit* (London: For Subscribers Only [During-Smithers], 1898); also see Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 205–6, 286.
62. See FO correspondence from April 5 and November 29, 1902, NA, FO 83/2101. Also see *Report from the Joint Select Committee,* 38.
63. For surveillance of Pulver, see FO correspondence from July 22 and

November 30, 1899, NA, FO 83/1786; and HO to FO, July 22, 1899, NA, HO 151/8. For the extensive surveillance of Gennert, see, for example, HO to PO, January 11, 1899, NA, HO 151/7; and PO to HO, March 17, 1913, NA, HO 144/1837.

64. Ministère des Affaires étrangères to FO, July 31, 1903, NA, FO 83/2101.
65. See the list of "Dealers in Indecent Wares on the Continent," stamped December 2, 1912, NA, HO 144/10130. Also see Henry Miller, *The Tropic of Cancer* (Paris: Obelisk Press, 1934).
66. FO memorandum, September 7, 1903, NA, FO 83/2101.
67. Rosenberg, *Policing Paris,* 29.
68. René Bérenger founded la Societé de protestation contre la licence des rues in 1894, and liaised with other powerful European morality leagues, such as the National Vigilance Association in Britain (NVA), L'Association Suisse contre la littérature immorale, and le Bureau international contre la littérature immorale; see Annie Stora-Lamarre,"Le livre en question. La Censure au Congrès international contre la pornographie (Paris, 1908)," *Cahiers Georges Sorel* 7 (1989): 87–98, especially 90–91. On Parisian fin de siècle politics, see Rosenberg, *Policing Paris,* 37, and John Kim Munholland, "Republican Order and Republican Tolerance in Fin-de-Siècle France: Montmartre as a Delinquent Community," in *Montmartre and the Making of Mass Culture,* ed. Gabriel P. Weisberg (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 17.
69. *États signalétiques des étrangers expulsés de France,* Ministre de l'Intérieur, Police nationale, 1899–1938, no. 19980182, f. 425, Archives nationales, site de Fontainebleau:

    FERDINANDO (*Paul-Henri*), dit CARRINGTON (*Charles*), né à Londres (Angleterre), le 20 Novembre 1867, fils de Jean-Isaac et Sarah Cox, expulsé par arrêté ministériel du 1er mai 1907. Pas de signalement. Arrêté notifié le 3 mai 1907, avec sursis jusqu'à nouvel ordre.

    GENNERT (*Richard*), né à Helmstedt (Allemagne), le 17 Janvier 1871, fils de Ernest et de Marie Wavrem (Américains), expulsé par arrêté ministériel du 1er mai 1907; taille d'un m. 68 c., cheveux châtain foncé, front bombé, sourcils châtain clair, yeux bleu verdâtre, nez droit, bouche petite, menton a fossette, barbe châtain clair, visage rond, teint ordinaire. Arrêté notifié le 3 mai 1907.

    TINDALL (Gray-Arthur), né à Savobridgeworth (Angleterre), le 30 Décembre 1853, fils de William et de Emma Elbourne, expulsé par arrêté ministériel le 1er mai 1907; taille d'un m. 80 c., cheveux châtain foncé. Grisonnants, front oblique, sourcils châtain clair, yeux gris foncé ardoisé, nez busqué, bouche moyenne, menton à fossette, moustache grisonnante, visage osseux, teint légèrement basané. Arrêté notifié le 3 mai 1907.

    No explanation for these expulsions is given. Tindall may also have followed Carrington to Belgium after their expulsion, as he was tracked there dealing older Paris editions such as *The Horn Book* and *Love and Safety* published by Carrington; see HO to FO, November 13, 1909, NA, HO 151/9; and PO to HO, August 4, 1909, NA, HO 45/10510/129433.
70. Brooke L. Blower, *Becoming Americans in Paris: Transatlantic Politics and Culture between the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011),

146, 148. Blower notes that there were periodic moral sweeps in Paris throughout the Third Republic. The term "Grundyism" comes from a reference in a late eighteenth-century British play to an overly watchful and prudish neighbor named Mrs. Grundy who never appears on stage.

71. The total number of warrants was never officially counted, but a number of lists of warrants were prepared over the years; for example, see "Indecent Articles Sent by Post," 1891–1898, NA, HO 45/9752/A59329; and "List of Home Office Warrants issued in connection with the traffic in indecent wares," 1897–1911, NA, HO 45/10510/129433.
72. Walter G. Gates, a PO official who was part of the Confidential Enquiry Branch, made reference to the "indecent warrants" in his 1896 "Schedule showing all Home Office Warrants ever issued for the purpose of arresting letters relating to indecent wares," NA, POST 33/5691.
73. PO to HO, October 27, 1897, NA, HO 144/192/A46657D.
74. For discussion of the Confidential Enquiry Branch, see RMA, POST 120/149 and PO correspondence, March 1919, RMA, POST 33/5691.
75. See L. W. Chubb, "Hunter, Sir Robert (1844–1913)," rev. Graham Murphy, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online ed., www.oxforddnb.com.
76. PO correspondence, August 23, 1894, and HO to PO, December 1894, RMA, POST 33/5691.
77. PO correspondence, January 28, 1897, RMA, POST 33/5691.
78. See Gates's note to his "Schedule showing all Home Office Warrants" up until 1896, RMA, POST 33/5691.
79. Derek Beales, "Walpole, Spencer Horatio (1806–1898)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online ed. (January 2008), www.oxforddnb.com.
80. See correspondence between HO and PO from 1896 to 1897, RMA, POST 122/1010.
81. See correspondence between HO and PO, February-March 1898, RMA, POST 122/1010, including notes from the February 18 meeting between PO and HO on the use of postal warrants.
82. PO to HO, April 27, 1898, RMA, POST 122/1010.
83. G. C. Peden, "Murray, Sir George Herbert (1849–1936)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online ed. (January 2008), www.oxforddnb.com.
84. PO to HO, December 8, 1899, RMA, POST 122/1010.
85. PO to HO, January 5, 1901, RMA, POST 122/1010; also see Thomas Erskine May's *Constitutional History of England* (London: n.p., 1863).
86. Ibid.
87. See Customs report, November 22, 1901, NA, CUST 46/199; and Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly, *Weird Women* (London and Paris: Lutetian Bibliophiles' Society, Printed for Subscribers [Carrington], 1900).
88. *Report from the Joint Select Committee,* 8–9. The *Times* reported on the Post Office's opening of letters under the authority of the home secretary's warrant, noting that "there is some doubt whether that warrant ought not to be reserved for use in grave criminal matters and in affairs of the State," but there was public outcry; see *Times* (London), September 16, 1908, 9.

89. See seized Carrington letter to his customers, June 1911, NA, HO 45/10510/129433. On the back of this printed letter is a handwritten note by Carrington, dated June 10, 1911.
90. Carrington to HO, December 11, 1911, NA, HO 45/10510/129433.
91. PO to HO, November 18, 1909 and August 22, 1911, NA, HO 45/10510/129433. Although the postmaster general just previous had strenuously advocated their use, arguing that the practice would remain unknown because the dealers would not dare to complain, Samuel insisted that a practice kept from the public was not defensible. For draft Post Office legislation and surrounding discussions, see RMA, POST 33/5691 and RMA, POST 30/3283-3284.

2. *British Censorship, French Liberalism, and Paris Editions, 1918–1960*

1. Post Office (hereafter PO) to Home Office (hereafter HO), October 21, 1915, National Archives (hereafter NA), HO 144/1837.
2. D. H. Lawrence, "Pornography and Obscenity," in *Late Essays and Articles,* ed. James T. Boulton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 233–53; and Brooke L. Blower, *Becoming Americans in Paris: Transatlantic Politics and Culture between the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 141. Comstockery refers to the moralism associated with the Comstock Law, a federal law passed in 1873 making it illegal to distribute obscene material via post; see *An Act for the Suppression of Trade in, and Circulation of, Obscene Literature and Articles of Immoral Use,* March 3, 1873, ch. 258, § 2, 17 Stat. 599.
3. Adam Parkes, *Modernism and the Theater of Censorship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Jonathan Dollimore, *Sex, Literature and Censorship* (Oxford: Polity Press, 2001); also see Radclyffe Hall, *The Well of Loneliness* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1928).
4. Edward Said, "The Voyage In: Third World Intellectuals and Metropolitan Cultures," in *Arab Nation, Arab Nationalism* (Oxford: St. Anthony College, 2000), 100; also see Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1993), 288–315.
5. Christopher Pollnitz, "The Censorship and Transmission of D. H. Lawrence's *Pansies:* The Home Office and the 'Foul-Mouthed Fellow,'" *Journal of Modern Literature* 28, no. 3 (2005): 45, 47–48. Also see the Obscene Publications Act, 1857, 20 & 21 Vict. c. 83; and the Post Office Act, 1908, 8 Edw 7, c. 48, an update of the 1884 act. To consult these British statutes, see www.legislation.gov.uk.
6. F. M. L. Thompson, "Hicks, William Joynson, first Viscount Brentford (1865–1932)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online ed. (September 2010), www.oxforddnb.com.
7. Ibid.
8. D. H. Lawrence, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (Florence: Privately Printed [G. Orioli], 1928).
9. *Parliamentary Debates,* Commons, vol. 225 (February 28, 1929), cols. 2157–63; also see James T. Boulton, "D. H. Lawrence's *Pansies* and the State, 1929," *Journal of the D. H. Lawrence Society,* ed. Bethan Jones (Autumn 2000): 5–16.

10. Victor Gollancz, "Banning," *Time and Tide,* March 22, 1929, 323; and Storm Jameson, "Literary Censorship," *Time and Tide,* March 22, 1929, 323; also see Rebecca West, "A Jixless Errand," *Time and Tide,* March 22, 1929, 282–86; and Leonard Woolf, "The World of Books," *Nation and Athenaeum,* April 10, 1929, 77.
11. These essays appeared first in British periodicals and then were published separately by Faber: see D. H. Lawrence, "Pornography and Obscenity," *This Quarter* 2 (July–September 1929): 17–27; and Viscount Brentford [Sir William Joynson-Hicks], "'Censorship' of Books," *The Nineteenth Century and After* 106 (1929): 207–11.
12. Sidney W. Harris Memorandum, March 6, 1929, NA, HO 45/15139.
13. The 1910 International Agreement for the Suppression of Obscene Publications made it possible for countries to share information about dealers, prosecute those involved in transnational operations, and negotiate separate extradition deals if needed through the establishment of a central authority in each country. Department D of the Home Office was the central authority in Britain. The Agreement did not create an international offense, but rather tried to "combat a transnational offence through domestic mechanisms"; see Ilias Bantekas and Susan Nash, *International Criminal Law,* 2nd ed. (London: Cavendish, 2003), 89.
14. Harris Memorandum, March 6, 1929, NA, HO 45/15139.
15. See "Minutes of the Diplomatic Book Conference," date-stamped December 27, 1929, NA, CUST 49/1280. For correspondence between the HO and Customs about unilateral Customs seizures, see February 2, 1929, and February 28, 1929, March 8, 1929, NA, HO 45/15139. Government records suggest an increased reliance on Customs to manage the international traffic in pornography. While the Post Office could more effectively catch incoming and outgoing mail at any point in the chain, under the authority of the 1908 Post Office Act and the 1920 Universal Postal Union Convention that explicitly prohibited the mailing of obscene materials, it could not indiscriminately open sealed packages. Customs, however, could randomly open packages to check for contraband materials under the authority of the 1876 Customs Consolidation Act and without a warrant from the secretary of state. The government's reliance on Customs allowed it to continue its practice of banning books coming from Paris and elsewhere while minimizing the controversial practice of postal seizures and warrants. Rumors of forbidden book lists, however, circulated in the British press; see the *New Statesman,* August 18, 1928.
16. D. H. Lawrence, "Pornography and Obscenity," 252.
17. The banned book list to which I refer from July 1, 1929, appears to be the master list. For correspondence between HO and Customs from July 10, July 12, and July 17 related to the making of this list as well as supplementary lists, see the folder located in NA, CUST 49/1280.
18. See Aimé Van Rod, *L'Académie du fouet* (Paris: Édition parisienne, 1908); *Amatory Experiences of a Surgeon* (London and New York: Erotica Biblion Society, 1904); *Pauline, the Prima Donna, or Memoirs of an Opera Singer* (London and New York: Erotica Biblion Society, 1898); Jean de Virgans, *Parisennes flagellées* (Paris: Librairie franco-anglaise, 1922); *Autobiography of a Flea* (London and New York: Erotica Biblion Society,

[c. 1921?]); *Randiana, or Excitable Tales* (Paris: Société des bibliophiles, 1898); and James Joyce's *Ulysses* (Paris: Shakespeare and Company, 1922). Bibliographical information on the list is incomplete, so other editions might have been targeted on the list.

19. See Pierre Louÿs, *Aphrodite. A Novel of Ancient Manners* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1906). Also see Frank Harris, *My Life and Loves,* 4 vols. (Paris: privately printed, 1922–1927); and Norah C. James, *Sleeveless Errand* (London: Scholartis Press, 1929).
20. See Customs to HO, July 10, 1929, NA, CUST 49/1280.
21. *Times* (London), April 20, 1910, 5; on Bérenger's activism in France, also see "The Work in France," *Vigilance Record,* March 1902, 24; and "Obscene Literature in France Action by Senator Bérenger," *Vigilance Record,* March 1905, 24. Bérenger summarized his efforts to toughen legislation in France in his *Manuel practique pour la lutte contre la pornographie* (Paris: P. Mouillot, 1907). In this manual he repeatedly descried the special protection that the book was granted in French law, even though the laws of March 16, 1898, and April 7, 1908, were attempts to curtail the trade in pornography.
22. For discussion on this conference held at the Musée Social in Paris, see Annie Stora-Lamarre, "Le livre en question. La Censure au Congres international contre la pornographie (Paris, 1908)," *Cahiers Georges Sorel* 7 (1989): 87–98. British and French presses of the period also reported on the conference: see, for example, "La pornographie," *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires,* May 22, 1908, 1; and "International Congress Against Obscene Books and Pictures," *Vigilance Record,* June 1908, 48.
23. There were a series of preliminary meetings in 1909 and 1910 held by the French government in anticipation of the international conference. Meeting minutes are located in Sous-Série F7-Police Générale, Archives nationales (hereafter AN), F7 12652; for discussions about the special status of the book, see especially minutes from July 3, 1909, 8, and November 25, 1909, 8. For the 1910 and 1923 international agreements, see *International Agreement for the Suppression of Obscene Publications* (May 4, 1910) (London: HM Stationery Office 1911), NA, CUST 49.1280; and *International Convention for the Suppression of the Circulation of and Traffic in Obscene Publications* (September 12, 1923) (London: HM Stationery Office, 1926).
24. See *Rapport adressé à M. le Ministre de l'Intérieur par la commission chargée d'étudier les modifications qu'il conviendrait éventuellement d'apporter à la législation concernant les publications obscènes* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1927), located in NA, HO 45/20912.
25. British book censorship continued through the 1930s: with updated banned book lists circulated to Customs and legal consultations over the London publication of *Ulysses* by John Lane's publishing firm Bodley Head in 1936; see Customs Office "Circular Letter to Collectors, Customs Surveyors, Waterguard Superintendents, Waterguard Surveyors, and Chief Preventive Officers," November 25, 1935, NA, CUST 49/2134; and "Ulysses," HO meeting minutes, September 22, 1936, NA, Law Officers' Department (hereafter LO) 2/30.
26. Blower, *Becoming Americans in Paris,* 134, 148, 164, 156. Numerous public

complaints and police reports on bookshops, publishers, and booksellers suspected of displaying and dealing fetish pornography from the late 1920s to the early 1940s can be found in Sous-Série BA (cabinet du préfet de police), particularly box 2242 listed as "Obscénités" and boxes 2243 and 2244 listed as "Écrits," Archives de la Préfecture de Police, Paris.

27. See *Le Journal official de la République française,* May, 7, 1939, 5774. Only in October 4, 2004, was the decree of 1939 rescinded after the Conseil d'Etat (Council of State) judged that the decree infringed on the freedom of opinion and expression protected by the European Convention on Human Rights.
28. Pascal Fouché, *L'Édition française sous l'Occupation:* 1940–1944, vol. 1 (Paris: Bibliothèque de la littérature française contemporaine de l'Université Paris 7, 1987), 16.
29. For police reports during the first months of the occupation related to purging the city of its licentious publications and sights, see Sous-Série BA (cabinet du préfet de police), box 2244, Archives de la Préfecture de Police, Paris.
30. Gérard Loiseaux, *La Littérature de la défaite et de la collaboration* (1981; Paris: Fayard, 1995), 74. For a comprehensive overview of the German military crackdown on French literary activity, see Fouché, *L' Édition française sous l'Occupation,* vol. 1, 19–21.
31. Fouché, *L'Édition française sous l'Occupation,* vol. 1, 292.
32. Ibid., 27.
33. Ibid., 29, 322. Russian and Polish literature was also banned along with English literature.
34. Vladimir Nabokov, *Lolita* (Paris: the Olympia Press, 1955).
35. Loiseaux, *La Littérature de la défaite et de la collaboration,* 97; and Stéphanie Courcy, *La vie culturelle sous l'Occupation* (Paris: Perrin, 2005), 66.
36. Fouché, *L'Édition française sous l'Occupation,* vol. 2, 107.
37. For descriptions of these reprints, see Jean-Pierre Dutel, *Bibliographie des ouvrages érotiques publiés clandestinement en français entre* 1920 *et* 1970, 2 vols. (Paris: J. P. Dutel, 2005), 188–89.
38. Dutel, *Bibliographie des ouvrages érotiques,* vol. 2: 13, 311: "Seuls, quelques exemplaires de cet ouvrage, édité par moi en 1943, ont été numérotés à la main, ce travail ayant été interrompu par une indésirable visite des autorités d'occupation et jamais repris par la suite. Je garantis l'exactitude du tirage, numéroté ou non, de ce livre, LE PETIT, dû à la plume de Georges Bataille." Also see Georges Bataille, *Le Petit* ([Paris]: [Georges Hugnet] 1934 [1943]); and André Thirion, *Le Grand ordinaire* ([Paris]: [R. J. Godet], 1934 [1943]).
39. Maurice Girodias, *The Frog Prince: An Autobiography* (New York: Crown, 1980), 345.
40. Charles Reginald Dawes, *A Study of Erotic Literature in England* (unpublished, 1943), 252; also see *Teleny: Étude physiologique, traduit de l'anglais sur le manuscrit original révisé par l'auteur* (Paris: Edition privée, souscrits par les membres du Ganymède Club de Paris [Charles Hirsch], 1934).
41. See Didot-Bottin postal directories for Paris from 1939 to 1945.
42. See Robert Darnton, *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982); and Lynn Hunt, "Pornography and the

56. After a series of "grandiose judicial comedies," the French ban on *Lolita* was finally lifted by the Ministre de L'Intérieur on July 21, 1959; see *The Olympia Reader,* 26, 541, and Poulain, "La Censure," 566.
57. Blower, *Becoming Americans in Paris,* 148; William Peniston, *Pederasts and Others: Urban Culture and Sexual Identity in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (New York: Harrington Park, 2004); and John Munholland, "Republican Order and Republican Tolerance in Fin-de-Siècle France: Montmartre as a Delinquent Community," in *Montmartre and the Making of Mass Culture,* ed. Gabriel Weisberg (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 15–36.
58. Poulain, "La Censure," 560–61; and Simon de Beauvoir, "Brigitte Bardot and the Lolita Syndrome," in *Les Écrits de Simone de Beauvoir,* ed. Claude Francis and Fernande Gontier (Paris: Gallimard, 1979), 363–76.
59. The political work Girodias published was Yves Farge, *Le Pain de la corruption* (Paris: Éditions du Chêne, 1947). For a discussion of the *Lolita* ban, see Brian Rigby, "L'Affaire *Lolita,*" in *La Censure en France à l'ère démocratique (*1848–. . .*),* ed. Pascal Ory (Brussels: Complexe, 1997), 308–10. Rigby suggests that France's close diplomatic ties with Britain during the Suez Crisis and the Egyptian blockade of the canal might have contributed to willingness to listen to the British requests to stop Girodias.
60. HO memorandum, "Indecent Publications," c. 1957, NA, HO 302/2.
61. See the summary report on "Details and Communications between the Home Office and the French Central Authority in connection with the Olympia Press (1953–1956)," NA, HO 302/4; and "House of Commons Select Committee on Obscene Publications, Second Memorandum Submitted by the Home Office," July 1957, NA, CUST 49/4712.
62. "Appendix A. List of obscene matter seized 1956," c. 1957, NA, CUST 49/4712. The Customs and Excise Act, 1952, 15 &16 Geo. 6 & Eliz. 2, c. 44, updated the 1876 act.
63. See the Customs file on William O' Donnell, bookseller, stamped January 8, 1958, NA, CUST 49/4692. The letter sent to the Customs Office was anonymous.
64. HO draft circular on "erotic classics" and "protected works," September 18, 1954, NA, HO 302/1.
65. HO Memorandum, "Obscenity in England," c. 1957, NA, HO 302/13.
66. *Times* (London), February 5, 1957, 7. For further *Times* coverage of the French book bans, see January 15, 1958, 9; November 10, 1958, 9; December 18, 1958, 8; and September 21, 1959, 9.
67. Supplementary memorandum to Select Committee on Obscene Publications, July 5, 1957, NA, HO 302/4.
68. *Report from the Select Committee on Obscene Publications* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1958), NA, CUST 49/4712.
69. The Obscene Publications Act, 1959, 7 & 8 Eliz 2, c. 66. Also see D. H. Lawrence, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1960).
70. Alec Craig, *The Banned Books of England and Other Countries: A Study of the Conception of Literary Obscenity* (London: George Allen, 1962), 127.
71. HO memorandum, September 11, 1964, NA, HO 302/2. It is unknown what happened to the contents of the Home Office's library of banned books.

3. *Charles Carrington, 1867–1921*

1. *Venus in India, or Love Adventures in Hindustan by Captain C. Deveureux of the General Staff.* 2 vols. (Printed at Carnopolis [Paris]: n.p. [Carrington], 1898); *The Yellow Room or Alice Darvell's Subjection* (n.p. [Paris]: n.p. [Carrington,] [c. 1907]); *The Memoirs of Dolly Morton. The Story of a Woman's Part in the Struggle to Free the Slaves* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1899); *Suburban Souls. The Erotic Psychology of a Man and a Maid* (Paris: Printed for Distribution Amongst Private Subscribers Only [Carrington], 1901). For additional bibliographical information on these books, see Peter Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English,* 1800–1930*: A Bibliographical Study* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993), 179–80, 221–22, 335–38, 363–64.
2. Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1905). Carrington published the novel as early as 1901, but I have not found a copy of this edition. For the most complete bibliography of Carrington's publications, see Howard Guacamole, *Charles Carrington (*1867–1921*): Bibliographie eines Verlags* (Berlin: Ars Amandi in Komooission, 2005).
3. This chapter builds on previous biographical research on Carrington in Mendes's *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 32–33; and Sheryl Straight's *Charles Carrington: A Bibliographical Checklist of All Works Published by an Old Bibliophile* (unpublished, 2005), 1–4. My archival and periodical research conducted in Britain and France offers the most complete biographical portrait of the publisher to date.
4. Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature,* ed. Randal Johnson (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), 69.
5. England and Wales FreeBMD Birth Index 1837–1915, birth certificate entry for Paul Harry Ferdinando. All information on the Ferdinando family was collected from the UK Census Collection and historical records on births, marriages, and deaths, which can be accessed at www.ancestry.co.uk. This database also includes a limited collection of French historical records, such as marriage bans and death certificates, which are helpful for tracking Carrington's early years in Paris.
6. John Henry Mackay, *The Anarchists* (Boston: B. R. Tucker, 1891), 152; quoted in William J. Fishman, *East End* 1888*: A Year in a London Borough among the Labouring Poor* (London: Duckworth, 1988), 9. For the social history of the East End, see 9–38, especially 12–13.
7. Charles Booth, appendix to *Life and Labour of the People on London,* vol. 2 (London: Macmillan, 1892–1902), 25. British census records show that young Carrington first lived on 31 St. Peter's Street and later lived on 36 Nelson Street, both in the East End; see 1871 England Census, Bethnal Green, London, Enumeration District 12, and 1881 England Census, Mile End Old Town, London, Enumeration District 7, www.ancestry.co.uk.
8. Mackay, *The Anarchists,* 152.
9. For information on the Jewish population in the East End, see Fishman, *East End* 1888*,* 166–222, especially 166–67.
10. As a teenager, Carrington's eldest brother John Joseph Ferdinando appeared before the Central Criminal Court over a dispute with a man named Siegfried Simon in the leather trade. He was found guilty of libeling the man and attempting to injure his business; see the *Times*

(London), October 6, 1870, 11; and October 29, 1870, 11. The 1891 census shows that he later worked as a stockbroker's clerk, which suggests that he might have been involved in his brothers' business as stockbrokers in the early 1890s; see 1891 England Census, Mile End Old Town, London, Enumeration District 27, www.ancestry.co.uk.

11. Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 32; Alec Craig, *The Banned Books of England and Other Countries: A Study of the Conception of Literary Obscenity* (London: George Allen, 1962), 72.
12. See Dan Ryder's unpublished memoirs and notes on the 1890s, Dan Ryder Papers, MS 2012, University of Reading, Special Collections.
13. On reading and literacy in the East End, see Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 84.
14. *My Secret Life* (Amsterdam: Not for publication [Brancart?], [c. 1888–c. 1894]). For speculation about Carrington's early contacts with West End pornographers, see Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English,* 4–13.
15. See Kirsten MacLeod, *Fictions of British Decadence: High Art, Popular Writing, and the Fin de Siècle* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 51; and Peter McDonald, *British Literary Culture and Publishing Practice,* 1880–1914 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 13 and 70–77.
16. Straight, *Charles Carrington,* 2.
17. It is not known how Carrington met Jeanne Héloïse Espargillière (1867–1902), whom he eventually married in 1892. Little is known about her except that her parents resided in the Limousin region of France; see record for Jeanne Héloïse Espargillière, Publication des bans de mariage de Paris et Ancienne Seine 1860 à 1902 (Paris, France and Vicinity Marriage Banns 1860–1902), www.ancestry.co.uk. She bore Carrington three children: Paul George b. 1892, Marie Josephine b. 1893, Louis Frederick b. 1896, the first two born in London and recorded in the England and Wales FreeBMD Birth Index 1837–1915, www.ancestry.co.uk.
18. See the *Financial Times,* July 1, 1891, 2; and *Leeds Mercury,* June 29, 1893, n.p.
19. Todd E. Endelman, "The Checkered Career of 'Jew' King: A Study of Anglo-Jewish Social History," *AJS Review* 7/8 (1982/1983): 76.
20. I suspect that George Samuel Ferdinando took his pseudonym from the most famous William Ewart of the period, Prime Minister Gladstone (1809–1898). His choice of pseudonym suggests a tantalizing connection to the West End pornography trade. Gladstone was a frequent visitor of the West End bookshops, including those that sold forbidden books; see Colette Colligan, "The PM's Pornographer" *Times Literary Supplement,* February 4, 2011, 15.
21. *Financial Times,* February 1, 1892, 3
22. *Financial Times,* February 2, 1892, 3; and February 12, 1892, 3.
23. *Financial Times,* April 26, 1893, 2.
24. *Financial Times,* May 19, 1893, 2.
25. Endelman, "The Checkered Career of 'Jew' King," 73. For further discussion of East End Jews later in the century, their uneven representation, and their inclusionary/exclusionary tactics, see David Feldman, "Jews in the East End, Jews in the Polity, 'The Jew' in the Text," 19*: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 13 (2011), http://19.bbk.ac.uk.

26. Records of the Companies Registration Office in Dublin were destroyed by fire at the Custom House in 1921 during the War of Independence. Basic information about the registration of Harvey, McDonald and Co on December 7, 1893, is recorded in *Joint Stock Returns,* vol. 4 (1891–1893), Col/Lib/PB14, Guildhall Library, London.
27. *Freeman's Journal,* April 2, 1894, 6.
28. See passage entry for George Samuel Ferdinando, March 13, 1937, Border Crossings: From Mexico to U.S. 1895–1957, www.ancestry.ca.
29. *Freeman's Journal,* June 12, 1894, 7; for their sentencing, see *Freeman's Journal,* June 14, 1894, 5.
30. *Freeman's Journal,* June 12, 1894, 7.
31. Straight speculates that the money came from his wife's family, but this speculation cannot be confirmed; see Straight, *Charles Carrington,* 3.
32 Letter on immigration in the East End sent from the French Embassy in Britain to the Ministre des Affaires étrangères, Théophile Delcassé, September 19, 1902, Correspondance politique et commercial 1896–1918—Grande-Bretagne, Questions religieuses et culturelles, nouvelle série 47, Ministère des Affaires étrangères et européennes, Archives diplomatiques, La Courneuve, France: "L'anglais a le goût de l'expatriation, le désir de chercher fortune dans d'autres pays et ce n'est pas tant la nécessité qui le pousse à quitter son pays que la volonté d'acquérir une situation meilleure dans des contrées plus neuves."
33. Andrew Adonis, "Carington, Charles Robert Wynn (Charles Robert Carrington)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online ed. (May 2010), www.oxforddnb.com.
34. *Marriage-Love and Woman amongst the Arabs, otherwise entitled The Book of Exposition,* literally translated from the Arabic by an English Bohemian (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1896); *Old Man Young Again, or the Age-Rejuvenescence in the Power of Concupiscence,* literally translated from the Arabic by an English "Bohemian" (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1898). See Colette Colligan, *The Traffic in Obscenity from Byron to Beardsley: Sexuality and Exoticism in Nineteenth-Century Print Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 89–95.
35. Philippe Roy, "Le quartier Faubourg Montmartre," in *Le Memoire des Rues, Paris 9e arrondissement,* 1900–1940, ed. Hélène Pouppeville (Paris: Parimagine, 2005), 86–88. The Paris Didot-Bottin postal directories from the period show a number of Jewish merchants working in the Faubourg Montmartre quarter. Also see reports on prostitution rings run out of the Bar Algérien and la Grande Brasserie in Faubourg Montmartre, Traité des femmes 1908–1921, Sous-Série F7-Police Générale, Archives nationales, F7 14855.
36. *Freeman's Journal,* April 7, 1894, 8. These court records have not been located.
37. "Notice sur l'origine de la conférence internationale relative à la circulation des publications obscènes," c. 1910, Sous-Série F7-Police Générale, AN, F7.12652.
38. See the file on Charles Carrington, especially correspondence from February 11, 1899, March 6, 1899, March 18, 1899, and July 5, 1899, Tribunal correctionnel de la Seine, D2U6, carton 120, Archives de Paris.

39. Oscar Wilde, *The Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde,* ed. Merlin Holland and Rupert Hart-Davis (London: Fourth Estate, 2000), 1093.
40. Gustave le Rouge, *Verlainiens et décadents: Souvenirs inédits* (Paris: Editions Marcel Seheur, 1928), 230: "Carrington, disait Rebell, avec son étrange sourire, réalisé tout à fait le personnage qu'on s'imagine, après avoir lu son catalogue. Avec ses yeux bordés de rouge, son regard tantôt fiévreux et tantôt abattu, ses manières bizarres, c'est le type classique du satyre que l'on voit figurer sur la sellette à certaines audiences où le huis-clos est de rigueur. Il mourra jeune, car je crains qu'il ne soit un peu trop, dans la vie privée, l'homme des livres qu'il édite."
41. Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 38.
42. Clifford Rosenberg, *Policing Paris: The Origins of Modern Immigration Control between the Wars* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 47; and see the file on Charles Carrington, especially the police report from May 13, 1899, Tribunal correctionnel de la Seine, D2U6, carton 120, Archives de Paris.
43. *Etude sur la flagellation à travers le monde aux points de vue historique, médical, religieux, domestique et conjugal . . .* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1899); *Stories from the Folk-lore of Russia* (Paris: C. Carrington, 1897).
44. See the file on Charles Carrington, especially correspondence from December 6, 1898, and July 5, 1899, Tribunal correctionnel de la Seine, D2U6, carton 120, Archives de Paris.
45. *Gazette des Tribunaux,* October 7–9, 1901; *Le Rappel,* October 9, 1901, 2; *Times* (London), October 9, 1901, 3. I have not found a copy of *La jeunesse rendue aux viellards.*
46. Carrington to Jehan Rictus, December 30, 1907, NAF 24552, f. 58, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Site Richelieu, Paris, France.
47. Carrington's first wife passed away on February 20, 1902, and records show that she had a mid-level fifth-class burial which cost 424.80 francs; see Acte de Décès, D1M9 919 and *Répertoire alphabétique des transports de corps (Payant)* 1902, 2484w 24, Archives de Paris.
48. For these expulsion orders, see *États signalétiques des étrangers expulsés de France,* Ministère de l'Intérieur, Police nationale, 1899–1938, no. 19980182, f. 425, Archives nationales, site de Fontainebleau.
49. Jehan Rictus [Gabriel Randon], *Les Soliloques du pauvre* (n.p. [Paris]: Chez l'Auteur, 1897).
50. Carrington to Rictus, June 12, 1907, NAF 24552, f. 55, Bibliothèque nationale de France, site Richelieu:

> Il me serait cependant nécessaire de réunir un certain nombre de lettres d'artistes, d'hommes de lettres de commerçants etc. témoignant leur surprise et leur regret de voir frapper ainsi un homme établi comme moi depuis 15 ans & honorablement connu.
>
> J'ai déjà réuni une véritable liasse de ces lettres, mes amis s'étant empressés avec la généreuse impulsivité naturelle au français de répondre à mon appel et je viens Monsieur vous demander de m'écrire quelques lignes en témoignage des beaux livres artistiques, en langue française qu'il a été ma joie de créer dans le passe et dont j'ai l'espoir de continuer à créer dans l'avenir.

For the series of letters between Rictus and Carrington, see NAF 24552, f. 52–60.

51. Carrington to Rictus, December 31, 1907, NAF 24552, f. 59, Bibliothèque nationale de France, site Richelieu:

Je viens d'apprendre l'effort que vous aller faire pour me faire sortir d'ici et je vous en remercie chaleureusement.

Voici Cinq mois que je m'attends un rédempteur, un Christ, dont la parole sera écoutée, et qui saura effectuer ma délivrance. J'ai frappé à bien de portes, en vain, hélas! Je connais votre grande énergie, votre courage et je vous sais un homme de ressort: aussi ai je de l'espoir dans les bonnes pensées que vous me gardez.

52. See Rictus's entry for January 4, 1908, in his unpublished multivolume *Journal quotidien,* NAF 16146, Bibliothèque nationale de France, site Richelieu.

53. Carrington to Anatole France, December 16, 1907, NAF 15431, f. 563, Bibliothèque nationale de France, site Richelieu:

Cher Monsieur,

En apprenant que vous avez promis à la traductrice de Hâfiz, Madame Tannenberg, d'écrire à mon égard, à Monsieur Clemenceau, mon cœur a été rempli d'espoir et de courage. Je ne veux pas vous envoyer avec une longue histoire, mais depuis que je suis ici, malgré les grandes consolations que m'apporte l'étude de Spinoza, les Ennéades de Plotin, & les Premiers principes de H. Spencer, je ne puis pas m'empêcher le désir, toujours présent, de revoir mon jeune fils en France.

Je viens donc vous remercier, Monsieur de votre gracieuse intervention, car je sais combien est grande votre parole auprès du Président du Conseil. Dans maint prospectus anglais je vous ai dénomme l'écrivain le plus brillant, le plus subtile en France aujourd'hui, et votre protection d'un éditeur affligé vous prouvera aussi l'homme le plus généreux.

Voici quelques ouvrages que j'ai traduit en anglais (sur ma propre initiative et a mes propres frais) "*Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles*"; *Brantome:* "Les Vies des Dames galantes"; *Straparole:* "Les Nuits facétieuses"; *Michelet:* "La Sorcière"; *Loti:* "Le Roman d'un Spahi"; sans compter "Thais," et "Le Puits de Santa Clara"—*tous en éditions de luxe.*

Je fais appel à vous, comme fervent Bibliophile, au lieu de me chasser, on aurait du m'élever une statue pour un *seul* de ces livres!

Rien que dans mon "Straparole" en *français* j'ai mis *frs* 25,000 (environ) sans compter de grandes sommes engloutis dans d'autres éditions; mais, en me renvoyant de Paris, en m'empêche de gagner ma vie et mon commerce périclite forcément.

Pour la confection de mes livres, j'ai employé des *artistes, écrivains et des imprimeurs français*—on devrait dont me contrer un peu plus de considération.

Encore autre chose très grave, j'ai *mon fils âge* 11*ans* à l'Ecole communale à Garches qui a besoin de moi, de ma surveillance et de mon affection—il a perdû sa vaillante mère (une française) il y a 7 ans; —j'ai mes deux vieux *beaux parents* dans le Limousin *le père à* 80 *ans* et j'en suis le seul soutien.

On ne devrait pas me renvoyer de France: je *n'ai pas faille à l'honneur.* J'ai eu 2 *amendes;* (la 1er il y a 9 ans pour 7 eaux fortes, dénonciation Bérenger; la II*ème* pour un prospectus d'une traduction de l'arabe, il y a 5 ans, dénonciation Gabriel Monod !!)

Voici la somme de mes pêchés! Depuis 9 et 5 ans je me suis tenu tranquille, en trouvant de travail pour des ouvriers français; en élevant mes *trois* enfants; en payant mes contributions comme tout autres citoyen, et voila comme récompense en m'oblige à rester à l'étranger.

Veuillez recevoir, Cher Monsieur,

nce de mes sentiments les *plus* reconnaissants.

Charles Carrington

54. Carrington to Rictus, December 31, 1907, NAF 24552, f. 55, Bibliothèque nationale de France, site Richelieu.
55. Their son was William Ferdinando; see Straight, *Charles Carrington,* 2.
56. A letter of reference for James Ashley endorsed by Carrington on April 12, 1912, is reproduced by Straight, *Charles Carrington,* 7. For August Brancart's expulsion, see *États signalétiques des étrangers expulsés de France,* Ministère de l'Intérieur, Police nationale, 1899–1938, no. 19980182, f. 458, Archives nationales, site de Fontainebleau.
57. Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 36–39.
58. See seized Carrington letter to his customers, June 1911, National Archives (hereafter NA), Home Office (hereafter HO) NA, HO 45/10510/129433. On the back of this printed letter is a handwritten note by Carrington, dated June 10, 1911.
59. *États signalétiques des étrangers expulsés de France,* Ministère de l'Intérieur, Police nationale, 1899–1938, no. 19980182, f. 468, Archives nationales, site de Fontainebleau. It was also rumored that Carrington was expelled from Belgium, but this is unverified; see Le Rouge, *Verlainiens et décadents,* 229–30.
60. D. H. Lawrence to J. B. Pinker, March 1, 1916, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence,* vol. 2, ed. James T Boulton and Andrew Robertson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 561; also see D. H. Lawrence, *The Rainbow* (London: [Methuen & Co.], 1915). This connection between Lawrence and Carrington was discovered by Rachel Potter, "Obscene Modernism and the Trade in Salacious Books," *Modernism/modernity* 16, no. 1 (2009): 87–104, especially 98.
61. *Gynecocracy. A narrative of the Adventures and Psychological Experiences of Julian Robinson (afterwards Viscount Ladywood) Under Petticoat-Rule* (Paris and Rotterdam [Paris]: n.p [Carrington], 1893 [c. 1912]); *Venus School-Mistress or Birchen Sports* (Birchopolis [Paris]: n.p., [Carrington], 1917). See Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 250, 303–4.
62. Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 39.
63. James Clegg, ed., *The International Directory of Booksellers and Bibliophile's Manual* (Rochdale: J. Clegg, 1914).
64. See Paul Ferdinando's (Carrington's) book catalogues from 1913 to 1919 in *Catalogues d'éditeurs,* Fons Q10B, Bibliothèque nationale de France, site François Mitterand.
65. See the correspondence between John Lane and Charles Carrington from 1919 and 1920, collected with the microfilmed reproduction of the John Lane Publisher's Archive, RP 3208/i–vii, British Library. My doctoral student at Simon Fraser University, Sarah Bull, discovered this correspondence.
66. See correspondence between Etienne Dinet and Charles Carrington, 1917–1921, Papers of Sir Richard Francis Burton, MS RFB 1339–1344, box 49, The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA. Also see Etienne Dinet and Sliman Ben Ibrahim Baâmer, *La Vie de Mohammed* (Paris: L'Edition d'Art, H. Piazza [1918]); Etienne Dinet and Sliman Ben Ibrahim Baâmer, *Rabiâ el Kouloub, ou le Printemps des cœurs, légendes sahariennes, recueillies par Sliman-ben-Ibrahim, traduites et illustrées par E. Dinet* (Paris: H. Piazza, 1902).

67. See Henri Michaux's correspondence with Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 38–39. Michaux's information on Carrington and his family needs to be used with caution because his dating is often inaccurate.
68. Paul Delany, *George Gissing: A Life* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2008), 15.
69. Carrington's correspondence with John Lane confirmed that he went blind sometime in 1916 or 1917.
70. "Bref historique de la Maison de santé d'Ivry," Archives municipales, Ivry-sur-Seine.
71. Acte d'état civil, Ferdinando, Paul-Henri, no. 1100, Archives municipales, Ivry-sur-Seine.
72. Formule de déclaration de mutation par décès—Ferdinando, Paul-Henri, September 4, 1922, no. 1377, Contenu des déclarations de succession, DQ7 32856, Archives de Paris.
73. The Service des cimetières in Paris finally helped me locate where Carrington was buried: his grave is located in the 6th division, 6th line, and 18th tombstone of the cemetery. Note that his date of birth is incorrectly inscribed on the gravestone.

4. *Charles Carrington's Books from Abroad, circa 1895–1921*

1. Carrington's business was registered under both his Ferdinando and Carrington names in 1921, Registre de commerce, 1920–54, D34U3 953, Archives de Paris.
2. Quoted in "List of Mrs. Charles Carrington's New and Forthcoming Works in English and French," in *Album 7,* a collection of clandestine book catalogues, Private Case Collection, Cup.354.g.48, British Library; *Liverpool Mercury,* February 26, 1904, 10; *Lancet* 149 (March 6, 1897): 681; and letter from René Bérenger to the Procureur de la République, December 6, 1898, Tribunal correctionnel de la Seine, D2U6, carton 120, Archives de Paris. The original of Bérenger's letter reads: "Je reçois de la Nationale Vigilance Association de Londres et j'ai l'honneur de vous transmettre un catalogue imprimé des ouvrages obscènes dont la licence et la crudité dépassent tout ce dont notre société a pu avoir jusqu'à présent connaissance. . . . Il a été envoyé par la maison Ch. Carrington que nous avons eu déjà l'occasion de vous signaler comme envoyant des prospectus licencieux en Angleterre."
3. See, for example, Denise Merkle, "Vizetelly & Company as (Ex)change Agent: Towards the Modernization of the British Publishing Industry," in *Agents of Translation,* ed. John Milton and Paul Bandia (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2009), 91–105; James Nelson, *The Early Nineties: A View from the Bodley Head* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971); and Nelson, *Publisher to the Decadents: Leonard Smithers in the Careers of Beardsley, Wilde, Dowson* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).
4. Paul Douglas, "Charles Carrington and the Commerce of the Risque," *International Journal of the Book* 4, no. 2 (2007): 63–76, quote on 63.
5. Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1993), 1–14, 288–315; and Said, "The Voyage In: Third World Intellectuals and Metropolitan

Cultures," in *Arab Nation, Arab Nationalism* (Oxford: St. Anthony College, 2000), 82–83.

6. Robert Darnton, "What is the History of Books?" in *The Case for Books: Past, Present and Future* (New York: Public Affairs, 2009), 179.
7. See Jehan Rictus, unpublished *Journal quotidien,* 1898–1933, NAF 16097–16249, Bibliothèque nationale de France, site Richelieu.
8. Rictus journal entry, January 23, 1903, *Journal quotidien,* NAF 16123, Bibliothèque nationale de France, site Richelieu.
9. Rictus journal entry, February 9, 1903, *Journal quotidien,* NAF 16123, Bibliothèque nationale de France, site Richelieu:

> Vu là Herman l'inévitable, puis un pianiste saxon qui parle anglais et un peintre à gueule froide dont je ne me rappela plus le nom. Mme Prévost Roqueplan adore les artistes tant qu'ils ne lui coutent rien. Bon diner pour une fois. Puis on blague. Arrivent l'éditeur Carrington et son secrétaire. Puis Madame Lebèque femme du dessinateur. Puis Fréderic Boutet et Gari son ami un peintre espagnol. Carrington éditeur anglais fixé en France a fait une blague très spirituelle et bien un peu anglo-saxonne. Il est nai que c'est une proposition fantaisiste que je lui avais soumise la dernière fois que je l'avais vu qu'il a mise à exécution.
>
> Il avait payé d'avance à Laurent Tailhade trois cents frs pour la Préface d'un livre qu'il édite. Or Tailhade avait livré une Préface ou entre autres aménités le Christ était traité de "charogne." Elle était donc impubliable chelle risquait de faire avoir des désagréments à l'éditeur.
>
> Carrington rendit à Tailhade sa Préface en le priant de la retoucher. Tailhade promit et ne la revoit plus. Le temps passait et Carrington voulant éditer son livre tenait à sa Préface qu'il avait payée. Encore une fois il se souvint de ma proposition fantaisiste et il écrivit à Tailhade une *carte postale* où il lui insinuait bien innocemment que s'il ne lui envoyait pas prochainement sa Préface il ferait retoucher cette dernière par Jehan Rictus!!
>
> L'effet fut foudroyant et Tailhade débarqua des suites chez Carrington et lui promet son manuscrit pour dans un délai très proche. Et voila. Et tout le monde de se tordre à l'idée de la fureur que Tailhade a du ressentir en recevant cette douche.
>
> J'ai ajouté—S'il ne vous envoie pas cette Préface servez vous encore de mon nom et écrivez lui que je la mettrai en argot.
>
> Vous verrez la tête de Laurent.
>
> Et tout le monde de s'esclaffer. Il est certain que mon nom suffisait à ressusciter Tailhade d'entre les morts.
>
> Le jeune saxon a joué du Chopin. Moi j'ai dit *le Revenant* et j'ai filé.

In 1905, Rictus got into a legal battle with Tailhade in which Carrington got caught up as a reluctant witness; see NAF 16132–16134, and Gilles Picq, "Mirbeau-Tailhade: Un Malentendu," *Cahiers Octave Mirbeau* 10 (2003): 150–58.

10. Jean Rictus [Gabriel Randon], *Les Soliloques du pauvre* (n.p. [Paris]: Chez l'Auteur, 1897).
11. Rictus journal entry, September 5, 1903, *Journal quotidien,* NAF 16125, Bibliothèque nationale de France, site Richelieu:

> Matinée passe, pas de Carrington. Je ne puis plus travailler; je suis nerveux. Eh. Quoi ça serait la l'exactitude de l'Anglais ? Enfin vers 10h1\2 on sonne. C'est lui. Il fait chaud. Il se débarrasse de sa *jaquette;* il s'assoie et on cause. Je lui sors toutes mes preuves et mes chances de succès. A la fin de la conversation et au moment où j'allais lui exhiber un album de dessins en projet on

sonne. C'est cet idiot de Jungbluth qui arrive mal à propos car Carrington s'empresse de prendre ce pretexte d'une arrivée inopportune pour s'enfuir. Je lui ai demandé deux cents francs par mois tant que je travaillerais le manuscrit. Il m'a donné rendez-vous pour mardi 4 heures. Nous verrons.

12. For correspondence between Carrington and Rictus between 1903 and 1907, see NAF 24552, f. 52–60, especially f. 52–53, Bibliothèque nationale de France, site Richelieu.
13. Rictus journal entry, September 5, 1903, *Journal quotidien,* NAF 16125, Bibliothèque nationale de France, site Richelieu:

> . . . Plus le sou ! Ce matin Carrington chez moi. Nous allons voir.
>
> J'apprends par Landres histoires effroyables sur M. D~un bon homme qui m'était sympathique.
>
> Elle me conte un ou deux faits qui en disent long sur les appétits sadiques du drôle.
>
> Ne voulait-il pas lui relever les jupes et, la fesser le jour on en rigolade ils sont allés au bordel?
>
> Il l'attira dans une chambre, pendant que les autres s'éparpillaient dans l'établissement avec diverses femmes, ferma la porte et lui commanda de se mettre a genoux et de demander pardon d'être venue là.
>
> Stupeur de Landres avec qui jusque là tout le long de la soirée il s'était montré aimable et bien camarade. Puis hurlements d'elle et cris de nerfs. . . .
>
> Et voila un salaud (ex élève des Jésuites !) qui sera ministre un de ces jours.

14. Ibid.
15. In 1903 Carrington published a new edition of Frédéric Boutet's collection of fantastic tales *Contes dans la nuit* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1903) and the following year had him translate from the English John W. Harding's *La Porte de baiser* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1904).
16. I have drawn this information from two bibliographies on the publisher: see Howard Guacamole, *Charles Carrington (*1867–1921*): Bibliographie eines Verlags* (Berlin: Ars Amandi in Komooission, 2005); and Sheryl Straight, *Charles Carrington: A Bibliographical Checklist of All Works Published by an Old Bibliophile* (unpublished, 2005).
17. Douglas, "Charles Carrington," 64.
18. Carrington's letters to John Lane over purchasing the publication rights for Aubrey Beardsley's illustrations for Oscar Wilde's play *Salome* (London and Boston: Elkin Matthews and John Lane; Copeland and Day, 1894) are the only correspondence of this kind that have been found; see the correspondence between John Lane and Charles Carrington from 1919 and 1920, collected with the microfilmed reproduction of the John Lane Publisher's Archive, RP 3208/i–vii, British Library.
19. Gustave le Rouge, *Verlainiens et décadents: Souvenirs inédits* (Paris: Editions Marcel Seheur, 1928), 229–30; Thierry Rodange, *Hugues Rebell: Le diable entre au confessional: biographie* (Paris: Alteredit, 2006), 254–55; and Marius Boisson, *Hugues Rebell intime* (Paris: M. Seheur, 1930), 41. Manuscript drafts of material Rebell wrote for Carrington are collected in Papiers René Boylesve (M 4838), NAF 18628 f. 1–315, Bibliothèque nationale de France, site Richelieu.
20. See Rebell's letter, c. 1898, Papiers René Boylesve (M 4838), NAF 18628, f. 332, Bibliothèque nationale de France, site Richelieu.
21. Brent Hayes Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and*

the Rise of Black Internationalism (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), 9.

22. Leonard Smithers had used the same Dutch firm for his publication of an earlier biography by Douglas on *The Life and Times of Madame du Barry* (London: L. Smithers, 1896), and Carrington was likely trying to compete with his rival publisher by nicking his talent. He in fact collaborated with this skilled Dutch printer for a good number of his early publications.
23. See Register der Drucker in Guacamole, *Charles Carrington,* 285.
24. Guiseppi Oriolo, *Adventures of a Bookseller* (Florence: Privately Printed for subscribers by G. Orioli, [1937]), 306.
25. See the 1899 file on Charles Carrington, especially correspondence from February 11, 1899, March 6, 1899, March 18, 1899, and July 5, 1899, Tribunal correctionnel de la Seine, D2U6, carton 120, Archives de Paris.
26. A letter of reference for James Ashley, endorsed by Carrington on April 12, 1912, is reproduced by Straight, *Charles Carrington,* 7.
27. Carrington's catalogues sometimes describes shipping arrangements. In Charles Carrington's "Catalogue of Superior Secondhand Books, mostly in English and French," the client is advised that "parcels of £5 in value dispatched in Europe carriage free" and "intending clients should note that Carriage of Books is no dearer from France than from any town in England"; see *Catalogues d'éditeurs,* Fons Q10B, Bibliothèque nationale de France, site François Mitterand.
28. For British government accounts of these smuggling operations, see National Archives, Home Office (hereafter NA, HO) 144/192/A46657D; NA, HO 144/192/A46657E; and Royal Mail Archive, Post Office (hereafter RMA, POST) 30/768A. Richard Manton also describes a close encounter between a man in Cambridge known as Roland de Villiers who was caught with a stash of Carrington publications, but poisoned himself before he could be fully questioned. For more information, see Richard Manton, *The Victorian Imagination: A Sampler, Tastings from Forbidden Books* (New York: Grove Press, 1985), 3–5, but note that dates and biographical data are inaccurate; also see Anne Humpherys, "The Journals That Did: Writing about Sex in the Late 1890s," 19*: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 3 (2006), http://19.bbk.ac.uk.
29. Theodor Adorno, "Bibliographical Musings," in *Notes to Literature,* vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), 24.
30. Carrington was regularly listed in book-trade directories, and he also bought full-page ads listing his books and their prices. See for example his two-page spread in a directory from 1906 in James Clegg, ed., *The International Directory of Booksellers and Bibliophile's Manual* (Rochdale: J. Clegg, 1906).
31. See, for example, *French and English Gazette,* June 26, 1897, 1; and the *New York Herald* (Paris), October 5, 1902, 4, and March 22, 1903, 7. Carrington also regularly placed ads in a wide range of other British magazines, such as the *Illustrated London Standard, Society, Daily News, Reynolds's Newspaper, Dial,* and *Academy. Reynolds's Newspaper* was a two-and-a-half penny gossipy magazine while the *Academy* was a highbrow literary magazine that appealed to a university readership. For a sense of the

range of nineteenth- and twentieth-century magazines, see *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland,* ed. Laurel Brake et al. (London: British Library, 2009).

32. For discussions of Lane's savvy use of mass-market advertising to sell high-end books, see Margaret Diane Stetz, "Sex, Lies, and Printed Cloth: Bookselling at the Bodley Head in the Eighteen-Nineties," *Victorian Studies* 35, no. 1 (1991): 71–86; and Peter McDonald, *British Literary Culture and Publishing Practice,* 74–76.
33. *Bibliographie de la France,* January–March 1900, 874–75; *Gil Blas illustré,* March 17, 1899, 8.
34. US ambassador in Paris to Foreign Office (hereafter FO), October 6, 1902, NA, FO 83/2101. Carrington relied on private subscriptions early in his career, as evident from the ads he posted in the *Bibliographie de la France,* but most of his business was based on mail-order catalogues.
35. Many French and English periodicals were given warnings, fined, and prosecuted. Carrington alludes to the difficulties he had placing ads; see his essay "Tribulations of a Bookseller" appended to Jules Michelet, *The Sorceress: A Study in Middle Age Superstition,* trans. A. R. Allinson (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1904).
36. See "List of Choice English Books" in "Charles Carrington," Erotica Producers Vertical Files (France, 20th Century), Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction, Library and Special Collections, Indiana University, Bloomington. This vertical file also includes other important catalogues issued by Carrington.
37. "Privately Issued Books" in *Bibliotheca Carringtoniensis: Being a Collection of the Descriptive Title Pages of Certain Books Published by Charles Carrington of Paris,* Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction. This is the most important collection of Carrington's surviving catalogues.
38. Book prices kept being slashed in this period: in 1896, 75 percent of all books produced were in low-priced categories, ranging from three-and-a-half to six shillings, and the early twentieth century, 82 percent of books were priced at two shillings or under; see Alexis Weedon, *Victorian Publishing: The Economics of Book Production for a Mass Market,* 1836–1916 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 106–7.
39. Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature,* ed. Randal Johnson (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993); McDonald, *British Literary Culture and Publishing Practice;* and see Said, "Reflections on Exile," in *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 176.
40. *Whipped Women,* 203–4.
41. The French double of *Whipped Women,* titled *Femmes chatiées,* was also published semi-clandestinely. From the perspective of material bibliography, these books are easy to identify as Carrington's, but the title page for *Whipped Women,* for instance, omits his name and simply indicates that it is "Privately Issued for Bibliophiles and Collectors only."
42. See the *Academy,* March 14, 1908, 571; also see ads placed in the same journal on September 5, 1908, 218, and October 10, 1908, 359. The price for France's book was slashed by half from five years earlier when it was

sold for one guinea, possibly because Carrington's business was struggling after his expulsion from France.

43. *The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night,* 10 vols., trans. Richard F. Burton (London: Printed by the Kama Shastra Society, 1885–[86]); *The Kama Sutra of Vatsayana* (Benares: Printed for the Hindoo Kama Shastra Society, For Private Circulation Only, 1883).
44. *Marriage-Love and Woman amongst the Arabs, otherwise entitled The Book of Exposition,* literally translated from the Arabic by an English Bohemian (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1896); *Old Man Young Again, or the Age-Rejuvenescence in the Power of Concupiscence,* literally translated from the Arabic by an English "Bohemian" (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1898); *The Secrets of Women* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1899); and *The Perfumed Garden for the Soul's Delectation* (Paris and Benares: The Kamashastra Society [Carrington], 1907).
45. For a discussion on the controversy surrounding Burton's publications, see Colette Colligan, *The Traffic in Obscenity from Byron to Beardsley: Sexuality and Exoticism in Nineteenth-Century Print Culture* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 58–73.
46. *Old Man Young Again,* n.p.
47. See the prospectus for *The Genital Laws: Their Observance and Violation* (1900) in *Bibliotheca Carringtoniensis.* Elsewhere Carrington also tried to establish his association with Burton: he advertised *Marriage-Love and Woman amongst the Arabs* as a supplement to Burton's *Arabian Nights* in the *Bibliographie de la France* July–September 1896, 34; he also discussed the controversy surrounding both his book and that of Burton's in a foreword he wrote for his edition of *Curious Bypaths of History: Being Medico-Historical Studies and Observations by Dr. Cabanès [Augustin]* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1898, xvi).
48. Hector France, "Postscript," *The Chastisement of Mansour* (London [Paris]: Printed for the Société des Bibliophiles Parisiens [Carrington], 1898), 246. Carrington added a footnote in response, further drawing attention to himself—"The Editor is pleased to see Captain France has so good an opinion of him though he does not personally feel worthy of it."
49. See Rictus's entry for July 13, 1905, *Journal quotidien,* NAF 16134, Bibliothèque nationale de France, site Richelieu.
50. See Guillaume Apollinaire, *Journal intime:* 1898–1918, ed. Michel Décaudin (Paris: Limon, 1991), 152.
51. John Cleland, *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (Fanny Hill) (Paris: I. Liseux, 1890); *Opus Sadicum, A Philosophical Romance* (Paris: I. Liseux, 1889); and *Le Jardin parfumé de cheikh Nafzaoui, manuel d'érotologie arabe* (XVIe siècle) (Paris: I. Liseux, 1886).
52. See Carrington's book catalogues from 1896 and 1897 in *Catalogues d'éditeurs,* Fons Q10B. Liseux's catalogues are also gathered in this collection. Carrington placed ads regularly in the "Books Wanted to Purchase" section of the *Publishers' Circular:* see, for instance, the ad he placed on July 11, 1896, 47.
53. *Bibliographie de la France* July–September 1896, 50.
54. *Untrodden Fields of Anthropology: Observations on the Esoteric Manners and Customs of Semi-civilized Peoples* (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles

[Carrington], 1896). This book was a translation of Liseux's French edition of the book was titled *L'Amour aux Colonies* (Paris: I. Liseux, 1893). See the editor's foreword to the second edition of the *Untrodden Fields of Anthropology* (Paris: Librairie de medicine [Carrington], 1898), x.

55. *Forbidden Books: Notes and Gossip on Tabooed Literature by an Old Bibliophile* (Paris: For the author and his friends [Carrington], 1902), 3.
56. Guillaume Apollinaire, Fernand Fleuret, and Louis Perceau, *L'Enfer de la Bibliothèque nationale: Bibliographie méthodique et critique de tous les ouvrages composant cette célèbre collection* (1913; Paris: Bibliothèque des curieux, 1919), 74.
57. See *Forbidden Books,* 3; and the "Translator's Foreword" to *Stories from the Folk-lore of Russia* (Paris: C. Carrington, 1897), v.
58. Arthur Symons, "The Decadent Movement in Literature," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 87 (1893): 858–68, especially 858–59.
59. Gershon Legman, *The Horn Book and Other Bibliographical Problems* (New York: American Aphrodite, 1953), 16.
60. For the Carrington-Wilde meeting, see Oscar Wilde, *The Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde,* ed. Merlin Holland and Rupert Hart-Davis (London: Fourth Estate, 2000), 1093.
61. Symons, "The Decadent Movement in Literature," 864–68.
62. *Forbidden Books,* xii.
63. See, for example, "Privately Printed English Books" in *Bibliotheca Carringtoniensis.*
64. Robert B. Douglas, preface, *Sophie Arnould* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1898), viii; and Charles Grolleau, preface, *Sophie Arnould,* trans. Charles Grolleau (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1898), ix. Oddly Carrington does not figure in Willa Silverman's excellent book on the French luxury book trade, which discusses many of the French publishers and illustrators with whom Carrington came in contact and sometimes worked; see Willa Z. Silverman, *The New Bibliopolis: French Book Collectors and the Culture of Print,* 1880–1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).
65. *Society,* January 20, 1900, 3.
66. See the prospectus for the *Diary of a Lady's Maid* (1903) in *Bibliotheca Carringtoniensis.*
67. See the prospectus for *The Beautiful Flagellants of New York* (1907) in *Bibliotheca Carringtoniensis.*
68. Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production,* 69.
69. See, for example, the title page for *Flagellation in France from a Medical and Historical Standpoint* (1901), reproduced in Guacamole, *Charles Carrington,* 318.
70. Diane Cooper-Richet and Emily Borgeaud, *Galignani* (Paris: Librarie Galignani, 1999); and Peter L. Shillingsburg, *From Gutenberg to Google: Electronic Representations of Literary Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 131–32.
71. See Isidore Liseux's catalogues, *Catalogues d'éditeurs,* Fons Q10B.
72. See the ads Carrington placed at the back of the 1906 issue of *The International Directory of Booksellers and Bibliophile's Manual.*
73. *Truth,* June 10, 1897, 1468–70.
74. Walter Benjamin, "The Task of the Translator: An Introduction to the

Translation of Baudelaire's *Tableaux Parisiens,*" in *Illuminations,* trans. Harry Zohn, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken, 1969), 73.

75. Theodor Adorno "Words from Abroad," *Notes to Literature,* vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), 187.
76. Adorno "On the Use of Foreign Words," *Notes to Literature,* vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), 288.
77. See notes 40 and 64 for previously mentioned titles, plus *The Memoirs of Dolly Morton. The Story of a Woman's Part in the Struggle to Free the Slaves* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1899); and *En Virginie, épisode de la Guerre de sécession* (Paris: C. Carrington, 1901).
78. *Reynolds's Newspaper,* March 22, 1898, 2.
79. See the advertisement on the back wrapper of *One Hundred Merrie and Delightsome Stories,* trans. Robert B. Douglas (Paris: Charles Carrington, [1899]). Though the original English edition of *Dolly Morton* was written anonymously by Hugues Rebell, the title page of the French edition attributes it to Jean de Villiot; see Peter Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English, 1800–1930: A Bibliographical Study* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993), 364.
80. Rodange, *Hugues Rebell,* 327; and Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 356. The French and English editions of *Whipped Women* are bibliographically similar: though printed on different types of paper, both are octavo-size books in modern Grasset characters by the French firm of Veuve Félix Guy & Cie.
81. A few examples include *The Ethnology of the Sixth Sense* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1899); *Medical-Legal Examination of the Abuses, Aberrations, and Dementia of the Genital Sense* (Paris: Charles Carrington [1900]); and *The Crossways of Sex: A Study in Erotico-Pathology* (Paris: British Bibliophiles' Society, Issued for the Subscribers, 1904). Scholars have increasingly seen these works as important contributions to early sexology, even though they took advantage of the "porous borders" between pornography and medical literature. "Pornography and sexology influenced each other at the margins of their discipline," as Lisa Sigel has observed in *Governing Pleasures: Pornography and Social Change in England, 1815–1914* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 116.
82. Restif de la Bretonne, *The Double Life of Cuthbert Cockerton* (Haarlem [Paris]: n.p. [Carrington], 1895 [c. 1899–1900]); and *Memoirs of a Russian Princess* (London [Paris]: Privately Printed [Carrington?], 1890 [c. 1900]). For the tricky bibliography of the second title, see Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 199.
83. See the "Translator's Foreword" to *The Old Man Young Again,* 5.
84. See "Charles Carrington's Catalogue of Superior Secondhand Books" (1896) in *Catalogue d'éditeurs,* Fons Q10B; and "List of Choice English Books," Cup.804.bb.27, British Library.
85. *Glasgow Herald,* February 21, 1898, 9. Carrington's translated editions of Hector France's books included *The Chastisement of Mansour,* trans. Alfred Allinson (London [Paris]: Printed for the Société des Bibliophiles Parisiens [Carrington], 1898); *The Grip of Desire. The Story of a Parish-Priest* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1899); and *Musk, Hashish, and Blood* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1899).

86. See Carrington's ad differentiating the two writers in the *Academy*; October 10, 1908, 359.
87. Anatole France, *Thaïs* (London [Paris]: Charles Carrington, 1901); and *The Well of Santa Clara* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1903). See RBD's preface to *Thaïs* (1901), v–vi. Robert B. Douglas likely translated this work.
88. Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly, *Weird Women* (London and Paris: Lutetian Bibliophiles' Society, Printed for Subscribers [Carrington], 1900); Octave Mirbeau, *The Diary of a Lady's Maid* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1903); Pierre Louÿs, *Aphrodite. A Novel of Ancient Manners* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1906); and Pierre Loti, *A Spahi's Love Story* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1907). Carrington took an especially great risk in publishing a translation of Barbey's short story collection *Weird Women* (1900) as the original had been banned in France; see Daniel Bécourt, *Livres condamnés, livres Interdits: regime juridique du livre, libérte, ou censure?* (Paris: Cercle de la Librairie, 1972). While Carrington issued it under cover of the Lutetian Bibliophiles Society of London, he included a foreword with his full signature. British Customs seized a copy of this book and notified the home secretary, evidence of the risk Carrington took in publishing these stories. As for his translation of *Aphrodite* (1906), it seems that other risk-taking publishers and booksellers had also thought about having it translated into English. Charles Hirsch had proposed the project to Wilde, as he recounts in his "Notice bibliographique extraite des notes et souvenirs d'un vieux bibliopole," in *Teleny: Étude physiologique, traduit de l'anglais sur le manuscrit original revisé par l'auteur* (Paris: Edition privée, souscrits par les membres du Ganymède Club de Paris [Charles Hirsch], 1934), 5–12, especially 12.
89. *Raped on the Railway. A True Story of a Lady Who was First Ravished and then Chastised on the Scotch Express* (London [Paris]: Privately Printed For the Subscribers of the Cosmopolitan Bibliophile Society [Carrington], 1894 [1899]); and *Suburban Souls. The Erotic Psychology of a Man and a Maid* (Paris: Printed for Distribution Amongst Private Subscribers Only [Carrington], 1901). For the dating of the first title, see Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English*, 321.
90. John Cameron Grant, *The Ethiopian. A Narrative of the Society of Human Leopards* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1900).
91. For a comprehensive list of Carrington's imprints, see Register der Verlagsangaben Carringtons in Guacamole, *Charles Carrington*, 287.
92. On fin de siècle bibliophilia in France, see Silverman, *The New Bibliopolis*, 61–88.
93. *Bibliographie de la France*, July–September, 1898, 35.
94. See the prospectus for *Ethnology of the Sixth Sense* (1899) in "Charles Carrington," Erotica Producers Vertical Files (France, 20th Century), Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction.
95. Nelson, *The Early Nineties*, 90.
96. For an overview of Edouard Pelletan's book aesthetic, see *L'Art du livre en France: de la fin du romantisme à nos jours*, ed. Frantz Calot et al. (Paris: Delagrave, 1931), 190.
97. Antonio Gallonio, *Tortures and Torments of the Christian Martyrs*, trans. A. R. Allinson (London and Paris: Printed for the Subscribers, 1903).

98. See "Historical and Other Works Published by Charles Carrington," the end-paper ads to *The Sorceress* (1904).
99. *The Satyricon of Petronius* (Paris: C. Carrington, 1902); and *The Most Delectable Nights of Straparola of Caravaggio* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1906).
100. Daniel Vierge illustrated for Pelletan; J. Wely for Henry Piazza; and Paul Avril, Léon Lebègue, and Adolphe Lalauze for A. Ferroud. For more information about French illustrators from this period, see Marcus Osterwalder, et al., ed., *Dictionnaire des illustrateurs: XXe siècle, première génération* (Neuchâtel: Ides et Calendres, 1992); and Mahe Raymond, *Les Artistes illustrateurs* (Paris: Kieffer, 1943).
101. Silverman, *The New Bibliopolis,* 51, 53.
102. *The Callipyges* (London [Paris]: Privately Printed for Private Subscribers Only [Carrington], 1903); *The Modern Eveline. Or the Adventures of a young lady of quality who was never found out* (Paris: Printed for Distribution Amongst Private Subscribers Only [Carrington], 1904); *Women that Pass in the Night. Reminiscences of the Parisian Queens of Prostitution* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1906); and Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1909). The French printing firms of Veuve Félix Guy and Noel Texier printed books for Carrington in Grasset typeface: see Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English,* 34.
103. *Liverpool Mercury,* February 26, 1904, 10.
104. See Johanna Drucker and Emily McVarish, *Graphic Design History: A Critical Guide* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson/Prentice Hall, 2009), 171, and "Privately Issued Books" in *Bibliotheca Carringtoniensis.*
105. Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, *Venus in Furs* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1902).
106. See, for example, *Amours d'Extrême-Orient* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1905); and Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, *La Czarine noire et autres contes sur la flagellation,* trans. D. Dolores (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1907).
107. "Catalogues de Livres d'Occasion Rares et Curieux" (1906) in *Catalogue d'éditeurs,* Fons Q10B.
108. See the note on "Illustrations" in *One Hundred Merrie and Delightsome Stories* (1899).
109. Honoré de Balzac, *La Mye du Roy, conte drolatique manuscrit et enluminé, par Léon Lebègue* (Paris: C. Carrington, 1902); and Anatole France, *Histoire de dona Maria d'Avalos et du duc d'Andria: manuscrite et enluminée par Léon Lebègue* (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles [Carrington], 1902).
110. "Privately Printed English Books" in *Bibliotheca Carringtoniensis.*
111. This is a suggestive phrase, and embryonic idea, from Raymond Williams essay on the nineteenth-century invention of media as a social practice; see "From Medium to Social Practice," in *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 163–64.
112. See Adorno, "Words from Abroad," 190, and "On the Use of Foreign Words," 289.
113. There is no evidence that Carrington ever pursued a complaint against another publisher for copyright infringement, despite threatening to do so in his publications.
114. Paul Douglas has commented on the "sexism and racism" revealed in

Carrington's lists and commentaries, prejudices which were of course not exclusive to him during the period; see Douglas, "The Commerce of Risque," 68.

115. Adorno, "Words from Abroad," 186.
116. Joris Karl Huysmans, *A rebours* (Paris: G. Charpentier, 1884).
117. Oscar Wilde, "The Picture of Dorian Gray," *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* (July 1890); and Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (London, New York, & Melbourne: Ward Lock and Co, 1891).
118. For transcripts of the first libel trial and the use of the two versions of the novel as evidence, see *Irish Peacock & Scarlet Marquess* (London: Fourth Estate, 2003), 82–83, and see xxxix.
119. Joseph Bristow, introduction to *The Picture of Dorian Gray: The* 1890 *and* 1891 *Texts,* ed. Joseph Bristow (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), xi–lx, see lviii. Also see Ward, Lock & Co.'s letter to Christopher Millard on November 10, 1904, which listed its editions of the novel. This correspondence is located in the Oscar Wilde and his Literary Circle Collection at the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Los Angeles, CA (hereafter Clark Library), Wilde MS, box 69, folder 25.
120. *The Publishers' Circular,* December 7, 1895, 654.
121. Robert Sherard to a publisher called Mr. Wallace, March 29, 1904, Oscar Wilde and his Literary Circle Collection, Wilde MS, box 62, folder 26, Clark Library.
122. For Carrington's discussion of how he purchased the rights for Wilde's novel, see his letters to Christopher Millard from November 11, 1908, and to Robert Ross on November 24, 1914, Oscar Wilde and his Literary Circle Collection, Wilde MS, box 10, folder 42, Clark Library. Millard also relays this information to Cécil Georges-Bazile in an undated manuscript letter, Papiers Georges Cécil-Bazile, MS 13947, Bibliothèque nationale de France, site Arsenal.
123. Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray,* illus. Paul Thiriat and E. Dété (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1908 [1910]). Carrington also lists his different authorized editions of the novel, not all of which I have seen, in a bibliographical note on "Pirated Editions" which he included in one of his editions of *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1909); also see Stuart Mason, *Bibliography of Oscar Wilde,* in *The First Collected Edition of the Works of Oscar Wilde,* vol. 15 (London: Methuen, 1922).
124. See, for example, "Privately Printed English Books" in *Album* 7 and end-paper advertisements in *The Sorceress.*
125. *The Secret Cabinet of History Peeped into by a Doctor,* trans. W. C. Costello (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1897).
126. Georges Eekhoud, *Escal Vigor. A Novel* (Bruxelles: The Gutemberg Press [Carrington], 1909).
127. *Teleny, or The Reverse of the Medal, A Physiological Romance of To-Day* (Cosmopoli [London]: n.p. [Leonard Smithers], 1893); also see "List of Rare and Curious Books" (c. 1904), *Album* 7. Carrington similarly generated rumors that Algernon Swinburne was the author of a pornographic flagellation novel that he had clandestinely published: *Flossie. A Venus of Fifteen* (Carnopolis [Paris]: for the Delectation of the Amorous and the

Instruction of the Amateur in the Year of the Excitement of the Sexes [Carrington], 1897); also see Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 273–74. A letter from Swinburne, in response to correspondence initiated by Carrington about his long poem "Laus Veneris," reveals an exchange between the publisher and poet, but does not confirm a working relationship: see Swinburne to Carrington, December 30, 1901, Ashley MS A4360, ff. 12, 13, British Library.

128. Robert Ross to Christopher Millard, September 26, 1906, Oscar Wilde and his Literary Circle Collection, Wilde MS, box 57, folder 1, Clark Library. Also see Maureen Borland, *Wilde's Devoted Friend: A Life of Robert Ross,* 1869–1918 (Oxford: Lennard Publishing, 1990), 113–14.
129. See Ross's Introduction to *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1908), viii; also see Oscar Wilde, *The First Collected Edition of the Works of Oscar Wilde,* 15 vols. (London: Methuen, 1908–1922). For a discussion of Ross's role in overseeing the Carrington-Methuen edition of Wilde's novel, see Kamran Ahmadgoli and Ian Small, "The Creative Editor: Robert Ross, Oscar Wilde and the *Collected Works,*" *English Literature in Transition* 51, no. 2 (2008): 138–51, especially 144–45.
130. Ross to Cécil Georges-Bazile, March 8, 1913, Papiers de Cécil Georges-Bazile, MS 13946, f. 26, Bibliothèque nationale de France, site Arsenal. Also see Bazile's manuscript "A Propos d'Oscar Wilde: Oeuvres posthumes et apocryphes" for his discussion of the need for the official Methuen edition to offset the spurious works being associated with Wilde: MS 13920.
131. The Clark Library also has the invitees and seating plan for the Methuen launch party at the Ritz.
132. *Academy,* February 6, 1909, 763.
133. Gregory Mackie, "Publishing Notoriety: Piracy, Pornography, and Oscar Wilde," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 73, no. 4 (2004): 985.
134. Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly, *What Never Dies: A Romance* (Paris: Privately Printed [Carrington], 1902); and *The Satyricon of Petronius.* (Paris: C. Carrington, 1902).
135. See the foreword to *What Never Dies: A Romance,* 7.
136. See the prospectus for *What Never Dies* in *Bibliotheca Carringtoniensis.* The "famous London publisher" to whom Carrington refers is likely Leonard Smithers.
137. O'Sullivan to Arthur Symons, October 26, 1931, Oscar Wilde and his Literary Circle Collection, Wilde MS, box 51, folder 2, Clark Library.
138. On the misattributed Wilde translations, see Millard's letter published in the *St James Gazette* on April 29, 1905, 9, and Sherard's reply on May 6, 1905, 13. Millard accused "the Paris publisher of the spurious Wilde translation of having "nursed the rumour which he himself floated." Also see Millard, *Bibliography of Oscar Wilde,* and Rod Boroughs, "Oscar Wilde's Translation of Petronius: The Story of a Literary Hoax." *English Literature in Transition (1880–1920)* 38, no. 1 (1995): 9–49.
139. Rebell to Robert Sherard, January 3, 1902, Papers of Robert Harborough Sherard, MS 1047 1/1, University of Reading, Special Collections: "Un éditeur anglais établi à Paris depuis un dizain d'années, M. Carrington désirait publier une biographie d'Oscar Wilde. . . . Vous l'écrierez en

anglais et en français. Si le projet ne vous déplait pas, voulez vous envoyer un mot à Carrington, 13 Faubourg Montmartre. Je crois qu'il vous fera des conditions acceptables." Also see Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 44.

140. See Hugues Rebell, "Défense d'Oscar Wilde," *Mercure de France,* August 1895, 182–90; and Oscar Wilde, *The Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde,* ed. Merlin Holland and Rupert Hart-Davis (London: Fourth Estate, 2000), 645. Rebell was later involved in the French translations of Wilde's works for Carrington. As Patrick Pollard notes, Wilde was not universally embraced by the French; see Pollard, "Wilde and the French," *English* 53 (2004): 19–29.
141. *The Trial of Oscar Wilde, from the Shorthand Reports* (Paris: Private Printed, 1906); and Oscar Wilde, *Intentions,* trans. Hugues Rebell (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1906). A letter from Carrington to Millard indicates that Millard was seeking a publisher for his account of Wilde's trials, a new and different version of Carrington's publication. This letter further shows that Carrington arranged to take out a page advertisement in Millard's *Art and Morality. A Defence of "The Picture of Dorian Gray"* (London: J. Jacobs, 1908), a compendium of different responses to the charge that *The Picture of Dorian Gray* was an "unhealthy" book: see Carrington to Millard, May 15, 1907, Oscar Wilde and his Literary Circle Collection, Wilde MS, box, 10, folder 42, Clark Library. For an excellent discussion of the different accounts of the trials that were in circulation over the years, see Leslie J. Moran, "Transcripts and Truth: Writings the Trials of Oscar Wilde," in *Oscar Wilde and Modern Culture,* ed. Joseph Bristow (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2008).
142. See the correspondence in April 1924 between Alfred Richard Allinson (the Oxford MA who translated for Carrington), and Charles Groves (Carrington's successor) over the rights for *The Picture of Dorian Gray;* Papers of Sir Richard Francis Burton, MS RFB 1334–1336, box 49, Huntington Library.
143. James Joyce, *Ulysses* (Paris: Shakespeare and Co., 1922)
144. See Sylvia Beach's account book from 1922, Sylvia Beach Papers, C0108, box 63, Princeton University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.
145. Richard Ellmann ed., *The Letters of James Joyce,* vol. 2 (New York: Viking, 1966), 150.
146. Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* xv. Gershon Legman unconvincingly attributes *Forbidden Books* to John S. Farmer: see Legman, *Rationale of the Dirty Joke: An Analysis of Sexual Humour,* vol. 2 (New York: Grove, 1975), 50. Patrick Kearney discusses the Farmer attribution in *The Private Case: An Annotated Bibliography of the Private Case Erotica Collection in the British (Museum) Library* (London: J. Landesman, 1981), 44.
147. See the prospectus for *Forbidden Books* (1902) in *Bibliotheca Carringtoniensis.*
148. *Forbidden Books,* vii–viii.
149. Ibid., 71, 93.
150. Ibid., 99, 176.
151. Karl Friedrich Forberg, *Manual of Classical Erotology* (Manchester [Paris:]: Privately Printed for Viscount Julian Smithson M.A., and Friends [Car-

rington], 1884 [1899]). See *Forbidden Books,* 56–57. An ad for Carrington's edition of his *Manual of Classical Erotology* appears, for example, in his catalogue of "Bibliotheca Arcana" (1899) in *Album* 7.
152. See the prospectus for *Forbidden Books* (1902) in *Bibliotheca Carringtoniensis.*
153. Adorno, "On the Use of Foreign Words," 289.
154. *Forbidden Books,* 17. See *My Secret Life* (Amsterdam: Not for publication [Brancart?], [c. 1888–c. 1894]).
155. Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 33, 161–66.
156. See *Times* (London), September 11, 1900, 4; for news coverage on West Africa, see the *Daily Graphic,* August 29, 1895, 14, and January 13, 1897, 9–10. See chapter 1, note 70, for origin of the term *Grundyism.*
157. *Forbidden Books,* 38–39.
158. *Le Journal,* February 2, 1895, 7.
159. *Forbidden Books,* 42.
160. Judex, *De Quelques condamnations littéraires à propos d'un livre sur la flagellation* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1902), 87, 93.
161. Charles Carrington, "The Tribulations of a Bookseller," vii.
162. Carrington, "Tribulations," vii. The British press did in fact pay attention to his early publications, though he may not have liked that some of these reviews, such as one in the *Pall Mall Gazette* for *The Secret Cabinet of History* (1897), recommended that it be kept "under lock and key": see "The Bran-Pie of Current Literature," *Pall Mall Gazette,* February 12, 1898, 2.
163. *The Perfumed Garden,* 65.
164. Ibid., 65.
165. *Forbidden Books,* 50.
166. Ibid., 99.
167. D. H. Lawrence, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (n.p. [Florence]: Privately Printed [Orioli], 1928); Henry Miller, *The Tropic of Cancer* (Paris: The Obelisk Press, 1934); and Vladimir Nabokov, *Lolita.* 2 vols. (Paris: Olympia Press, 1955).

5. *Paris Editions from Charles Hirsch to Maurice Girodias, circa 1900–1960*

1. Peter Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English, 1800–1930: A Bibliographical Study* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993); James Nelson, *Publisher to the Decadents. Leonard Smithers in the Careers of Beardsley, Wilde, Dowson* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000); Hugh Ford, *Published in Paris: American and British Writers, Printers and Publishers in Paris, 1920–1939* (London: Garstone, 1975); Neil Pearson, *Obelisk: A History of Jack Kahane and the Obelisk Press* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007); and Patrick Kearney, *The Paris Olympia Press* (Liverpool University Press, 2007).
2. Brent Hayes Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).
3. Brooke L. Blower, *Becoming Americans in Paris: Transatlantic Politics and Culture between the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 214, 225.

4. Raymond Williams, *Culture* (Glasgow: Fontana Paperbacks, 1981), 84; and Edward Said, "The Voyage In: Third World Intellectuals and Metropolitan Cultures," in *Arab Nation, Arab Nationalism,* ed. Derek Hopwood (Oxford: St. Antony's College, 2000), 100.
5. Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 31.
6. Michel Lacroix, "Littérature, analyse de réseaux et centralité: esquisse d'une théorisation d'un lien social concret en littérature," *Recherches sociographiques* 44, no. 33 (2003): 475–97, especially 485.
7. See Walter Benjamin, "On the Concept of History" and "Paralipomena to 'On the Concept of History,'" in *Selected Writings,* 1938–1940, vol. 4, ed. Michael W. Jennings and Howard Eiland (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), 389–400 and 401–11.
8. Foreign Office (hereafter FO) memorandum, September 7, 1903, National Archives (Hereafter NA), FO 83/2101.
9. Desmond Flower and Henry Maas, eds., *The Letters of Ernest Dowson* (London: Cassell, 1967), 413; also see Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 20.
10. For the bound volume, see Honoré de Balzac, *Illusions perdues. Un grand homme de province à Paris* (Paris: bureaux du Siècle, 1854).
11. See *The International Directory of Booksellers and Bibliophile's Manual* (Rochdale: J. Clegg, 1899). For more information on the history of the library, see Diane Cooper-Richet and Emily Borgeaud, *Galignani* (Paris: Librarie Galignani, 1999).
12. Carrington derides the "rue de Rivoli version" and "the peddler's shops in that lively street of the French capital" in his foreword to *The Perfumed Garden for the Soul's Delectation* (Paris and Benares: The Kamashastra Society [Carrington], 1907), 65.
13. Cosmos Librairie appears in Paris's Didot-Bottin postal directories between 1899 and 1902 and is also listed in *The International Directory of Booksellers and Bibliophile's Manual* (Rochdale: J. Clegg, 1906). Hirsch appears in Paris postal directories intermittently from 1905 to 1944. Little is known about Duringe or his wife. Guillaume Apollinaire briefly mentions meeting the Duringes in his *Journal intime:* 1898–1918, ed. Michel Décaudin (Paris: Limon, 1991), 130–32; also see Jean-Pierre Dutel, *Bibliographie des ouvrages érotiques,* 1880–1920, vol. 1 (Paris: J. P. Dutel, 2005), 18; and Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 19–20.
14. For information on Smithers, see Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 16–23; for Brancart, see Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 25–26 and Dutel, *Bibliographie des ouvrages érotiques,* 12–14; and for Gaucher, see Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 40–41 and Dutel, *Bibliographie des ouvrages érotiques,* 18–19. The entry for *Odor di Femini* in *L'Enfer* suggests some of the publishing links among these publishers: see Guillaume Apollinaire, Fernand Fleuret, and Louis Perceau, *L'Enfer de la Bibliothèque nationale: Bibliographie méthodique et critique de tous les ouvrages composant cette célèbre collection* (1913; Paris: Bibliothèque des curieux, 1919), 126–27.
15. For Marc Loliée's description of Hirsch, see Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 14; also see Charles Reginald Dawes, *A Study of Erotic Literature in England* (unpublished, 1943), 252.

16. Paul Verlaine, *Femmes* (n.p.: Imprimé sous le manteau et ne se vend nulle part [Hirsch], n.d. [1895]). For bibliographic information on Hirsch's publication of Verlaine's second edition of *Femmes,* see *L'Enfer de la Bibliothèque nationale,* 126; and Dutel, *Bibliographie des ouvrages érotiques,* 139. According to the compilers of *L'Enfer,* the poet-critic Arthur Symons introduced Verlaine to Hirsch.
17. See William Platt, *Women, Love, and Life* (London: Charles Hirsch, 1895), and *Love Triumphant* (London: Charles Hirsch, 1896). Platt was also a contributor to a freethinking magazine on sex called *The Adult* edited by George Bedborough: see Anne Humpherys, "The Journals That Did: Writing about Sex in the Late 1890s," 19*: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 3 (2006), http://19.bbk.ac.uk. For the reviewer's quotation, and other reviews, see the endpaper ads in *Love Triumphant.* Another review of *Women, Love, and Life* in the *Pall Mall Gazette* insisted that "the whole book is involved and chaotic, and in spite of its eulogies of purity by no means free from a species of suburban eroticism": see "Egomania," *Pall Mall Gazette,* August 28, 1895, 4.
18. *Times* (London), March 2, 1899, 13.
19. See Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 29–30; and Dutel, *Bibliographie des ouvrages érotiques,* 15.
20. For Hirsch's prosecution on charges of obscene libel, see the *Times* (London), January 27, 1899, 12; January 30, 1899, 14; March 2, 1899, 13–14; and March 10, 1899, 3. Also see chapter 7.
21. Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction;* and Dutel, Jean-Pierre, *Bibliographie des ouvrages érotiques* (vol 1).
22. *Les Sonnets luxurieux de l'Aretin* (Paris: C. Hirsch, 1904). Hirsch's letter to the Ministre de l'Intérieur is reproduced in Annie Stora-Lamarre, *L'Enfer de la IIIe République: censeurs et pornographes,* 1881–1914 (Paris: Imago, 1989), 249–51. The original letter is dated October 24, 1904, Sous-Série F18–Imprimerie, Librairie, Presse, Censure, F18 2365, Archives nationales de France.
23. Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 14–15, 114.
24. *The Initiation of Aurora Trill* (London [Paris]: n.p. [Hirsch] 1903); and *Memoirs of a Russian Ballet Girl,* by E.D. (London [Paris]; n.p. [Hirsch], 1903). For more information on the author Dumoulin, see *L'Enfer de la Bibliothèque nationale,* 126–27.
25. See quotation in Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 333.
26. This list was a sample from a more extended "Catalogue of Rare and Curious English Books" that he also published in the same year: see *Album* 7, a collection of clandestine book catalogues, Private Case Collection, Cup.354.g.48, British Library. For detailed bibliographic information about these titles, see Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction.*
27. *Gynecocracy. A Narrative of The Adventures and Psychological Experiences of Julian Robinson under Petticoat-Rule* (Paris and Rotterdam: n.p [Bergé], 1893 [c. 1896–1897]); and *The Romance of Lust, or Early Experiences* (Rotterdam-Paris: n.p. [Bergé] [c. 1900]). See Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 238, 248–49.
28. *Randiana, or Excitable Tales* (Paris: Société des Bibliophiles, [Carrington], 1898]); and *Venus in India, or Love Adventures in Hindustan* (Printed at

Carnopolis [Paris]: n.p. [Carrington], 1898). See Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 179–80, 299–300.

29. *Green Girls* by Fuckwell (London-Paris [Paris]: n.p. [Duringe-Smithers-Hirsch], 1899); and *The Pleasures of Cruelty, being a sequel to the reading of Justine et Juliette by the Marquis de Sade* (Paris et London: n.p. [Duringe-Smithers-Hirsch], 1898). See Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 156, 312.
30. *The Sins of the Cities of the Plain, or the Recollections of a Mary-Ann* (n.p. [Paris]: The Erotica Biblion Society of London and New-York [Gaucher]). See Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 216–17.
31. *Mémoires d'une danseuse russe* (Paris: Sous les galeries du Palais Royal, [Brancart]1892); *Memoirs of a Russian Ballet Girl,* by the author of *Callipyges* (Monte Carlo [Paris]: For Private Circulation only [Carrington], 1901); *Memoirs of a Russian Ballet Girl,* by E.D. (London [Paris]; n.p. [Hirsch], 1903); *Mémoires d'une danseuse russe,* par E.D. (Paris: sous les galleries du Palais-Royal [Gaucher], 1904); and *Mémoires d'une danseuse russe* (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles Parisiens [Carrington], 1905). See Dutel, *Bibliographies des ouvrages érotiques,* 221; and Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 333–34.
32. See Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 57–58. The British Post Office (PO) intercepted a packet sent from Lazenby in London to Duringe and posited their connection: PO to Home Office (hereafter HO), January 4, 1897, NA, HO 151/7.
33. *Erotika Biblion* (A Rome: Impr. du Vatican, 1783). Also see Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 20; and Apollinaire et al., *L'Enfer de la Bibliothèque nationale,* 24–29.
34. See the prospectus for *The Beautiful Flagellants of New York* (1907) in *Bibliotheca Carringtoniensis: Being a Collection of the Descriptive Title Pages of Certain Books Published by Charles Carrington of Paris,* Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction, Library and Special Collections, Indiana University, Bloomington.
35. Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 15.
36. Apollinaire et al., *L'Enfer de la Bibliothèque nationale,* 119, 128–29, 377. For further bibliographical information on these books, see Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 269, 349–50, 300–301, 304–6.
37. Stora-Lamarre, *L'Enfer de la IIIe République,* 206. To consult these court records on booksellers charged with "outrages aux bonnes moeurs" and to see the list of seized books, see October 11, 1913, Arrêts d'assise, D1U8 143, file 3939; December 21, 1914, Arrêts d'assises, D1U8 145, file 368; and December 23, 1914, Arrêts d'assises, D1U8 145, file 367, Archives de Paris.
38. John Cleland, *Memoirs of Fanny Hill. A Woman of Pleasure* (London [Paris]: n.p. [Hirsch], 1908 [c. 1928?]); *Gamiani, or Two Passionate Nights* (London [Paris]: n.p. [Hirsch], 1908 [c. 1928?]); and *Teleny: Etude physiologique, traduit de l'anglais sur le manuscrit original révisé par l'auteur* (Paris: Edition privée, souscrits par les membres du Ganymède Club de Paris [Charles Hirsch], 1934). For information on Maurice Duflou and possible connections to Hirsch, see Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English,* 130, 150, 155, 186–87, 191.
39. Many different editions of these works circulated in Paris. Bibliographical details about their first editions follow in discussions of the careers of Sylvia Beach, Jack Kahane, and Maurice Girodias.

40. So far attempts to find out when and how Hirsch died have been unsuccessful, in part because there is minimal biographical information on him. Lists of victims compiled by the Centre de documentation juive contemporaine and made available on the website of the center's museum, Le Mémorial de la Shoah, show that many people with the last name Hirsch were deported to Auschwitz and other camps during the war. The database is searchable at http://bdi.memorialdelashoah.org.
41. See, for example, *Le Journal amusant,* September 4, 1920, 18 and September 3, 1921, n.p.
42. See "Legrand," Erotica Producers Vertical Files (France, 20th Century), Kinsey Institute of Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction, Library and Special Collections, Indiana University, Bloomington; and also see Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 58.
43. *Our Fair Flagellants* (London-Paris: [Roberts and Dardaillon], 1908); Barbary Birchenough, *Rachel Rodskiss* (London and Paris: n.p. [Roberts and Dardaillon], 1909); and Lord Kidrodstock, *Stays and Gloves* (London and Paris: n.p. [Roberts et Dardaillon], 1909). These tend to be good-quality octavo editions printed on hand-made paper; see Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 386, 393–94.
44. See Paul Ferdinando's (Carrington's) book catalogues from 1913 to 1919 in *Catalogues d'éditeurs* (Fons Q10B), Bibliothèque nationale de France, site François Mitterand.
45. They worked with printers H. Bouillant and Noel Texier.
46. See Dutel, *Bibliographie des ouvrages érotiques,* 20; and Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English,* 37, 45. Fort was listed in the Paris postal directories from 1908 to 1944.
47. See Fort's court file, October 11, 1913, Arrêts d'assises, D1U8 143, file 3939, Archives de Paris. Fort served a four-month prison sentence as a result of this activity, but he continued publishing and selling pornography for decades afterwards, at least up until 1940 when a police memorandum described him as one of the largest producers of pornographic books: see two reports called "Note," dated March 28, 1940, and March 30, 1940, sous-série BA (Cabinet du préfet de police), box 2242, Archives de la Préfecture de Police, Paris.
48. Donovon Kipps, *Dolly Morton* (Paris: Collection des "Orties Blanches" [Fort], [1917]). Fort's catalogues show that this book sold for as high as fifty francs; see "Jean Fort," Erotica Producers Vertical Files (France, 20th Century), Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction, Library and Special Collections, Indiana University, Bloomington.
49. Sadie Blackeyes, *Miss, souvenirs d'un pensionnat de correction par une demoiselle de bonne famille* (Paris: J. Fort, [1911]); and Sadie Blackeyes, *Miss. Souvenirs of a special kind of boarding school by a 'Lady of Quality'* (Paris: Libr. Drouin, 1924).
50. *The Most Wonderful Nights of Love of Casanova* (Paris: Libr. "Astra," 1929), printed by Dardaillon. Fort wrote a letter in English to the "British Censor of Books" on November 28, 1929, requesting permission to import his edition of *Casanova* into Britain on the grounds that it was a "classic." The British Central Authority, Division D, however, refused to grant his request as the edition was a compilation of the "indecent" passages: see

Fort to HO, November 28, 1929, and HO to Sûreté générale, January 22, 1930, NA, HO 144/14042.

51. Frank Harris, *My Life and Loves,* 4 vols. (Paris: Privately Printed, 1922–1927); see Beach's account books from 1923–1929, Sylvia Beach Papers, C0108, box 63, Princeton University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton, NJ.
52. Select Bibliothèque published a large number of cheap flagellation titles in French, featuring star author Don Brennus Aléra, as well as anagrammatic variations, Bernard Valonnes and Roland Brévannes. As early as 1910, these novels began appearing in English translation: such as *White Women Slaves* (Paris: Select Bibliothèque, 1910); *Under the Yoke* (Paris: Select Bibliothèque, 1921); and *The Castle of the Whip* (Paris: Select Bibliothèque, 1926). La Librairie Select, with which the press was associated, seems to have been owned by Paul Guerard (aka Roland Brévannes) and later owned by Lazare Nesle, who owned another fetish bookshop at 54, rue Bonaparte, which was previously owned by H. Legrand, one of Carrington's collaborators; see police reports in sous-série BA (Cabinet du préfet de police), December 20, 1929, and June 20, 1933, box 2242; and December 11, 1935, box 2243, Archives de la Préfecture de Police.
53. Dardaillon, for example, was linked to publishers Carrington, Paul Brenet, and Jean Fort. The frères Briffaut, whose Bibliothèque des Curieux at 4, rue de Furstenberg was known for its fine editions of classic erotica in the Maitres de L'Amour series, used many of the same fine printers as Carrington, Fort, and Brenet. These were R. Bussière in Saint-Armand, E. Arrault in Tours, and Félix Guy in Alençon. See Dutel, *Bibliographie des ouvrages érotiques,* 21.
54. See HO correspondence, October 20, 1923, November 15, 1923, and March 12, 1924, NA, HO 45/24805. In addition to *Green Girls,* already cited, one of the other titles in question was *Margot, The Birching Beauty* (London: Printed for the Flogging Club [Carrington], 1905).
55. See the prospectus reproduced in Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English,* 390.
56. Sadie Blackeyes, *Miss* (Paris: Drouin, 1924).
57. Vladimir Nabokov, "On a Book Entitled *Lolita,*" in *The Annotated Lolita,* ed. Alfred Appel Jr. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), 313–19, 315.
58. See Joyce's letter to his wife Nora Barnavle Joyce from September 2, 1909, in Richard Ellmann, ed., *Letters of James Joyce,* vols. 2 and 3 (New York: Viking, 1966), 2: 242.
59. Richard Brown, *James Joyce and Sexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 86–87. Two of the publications Brown discusses in the context of *Ulysses* are James Lovebirch, *Les Cinq fessées de Suzette* (Paris: Roberts et Dardaillon, 1910); and *La Gynécocracie, ou La Domination de la Femme* (Paris: C. Carrington, 1902).
60. Allison Pease, *Modernism, Mass Culture, and the Aesthetics of Obscenity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 81. For others essays on Joyce's use of pornography, see Colleen Lamos, "Joyce and the English Vice," *Novel* 29, no. 1 (1995): 19–31; and John Woodrow Presley, "*Finnegans Wake, Lady Pokingham,* and Victorian Erotic Fantasy," *Journal of Popular Culture* 30, no. 3 (1996): 67–80.

61. See *Ulysses,* ed. Jeri Johnson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 226–27, 726, 313 and 441.
62. *Sweet Seventeen. The True Story of a Daughter's Awful Whipping and its Delightful and Direful Consequence* (Paris: Issued for subscribers only [Carrington], 1910); and *Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk* (New York: n.p., 1836). For bibliographic information on *Sweet Seventeen,* see Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English,* 396–97.
63. Stephen Watt, "'Nothing for a Woman in That': James Lovebirch and Masochistic Fantasy in *Ulysses,*" in *James Joyce and Popular Culture,* ed. R. B. Kerschner (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 75. Jennifer Burn Levin suggests that the magazine *Photo-Bits,* which advertised some fetish material, was a possible source text for the flagellation titles and scenes in *Ulysses:* see "How Joyce Acquired the "Stale Smut of Clubmen": *Photo Bits* in the Early Twentieth Century," *James Joyce Quarterly* 46, no. 2 (2009): 255–68.
64. Armand Coppens, *The Memoirs of an Erotic Bookseller* (London: Luxor Press, 1969), 27, 144.
65. Roger W. Baines, *'Inquietude' in the Work of Pierre Mac Orlan* (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 2000), 63–100.
66. Portions of *Ulysses* were first published in the British magazine *The Egoist* edited by Harriet Weaver. When printers and subscribers objected, the publication of *Ulysses* went to America. Margaret Anderson and Jane Heap began publishing installments in their magazine the *Little Review.* In February 1921, they were found guilty by three New York judges of publishing obscenity on account of the Nausicaa episode. For the story behind her offer to publish *Ulysses* in Paris, see Sylvia Beach, *Shakespeare and Company* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1959), 47.
67. See *Midnight in Paris,* film, directed by Woody Allen (2011; DVD, Warner Home Video, 2012),.
68. See Ford, *Published in Paris,* 3; and Sisley Huddleston, *Back to Montparnasse: A Sequel to Bohemian Literary and Social Life in Paris* (London: Harrap, 1931), 194.
69. See Beach, *Shakespeare and Company*; 47; and Shari Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank: Paris,* 1900–1940 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), 197, 225.
70. See Noel Fitch Riley, *Sylvia Beach and the Lost Generation: A History of Literary Paris in the Twenties and Thirties* (London: Norton, 1985); Hugh Ford, *Published in Paris: A Literary Chronicle of Paris in the 1920s and 1930s* (New York: Macmillan, 1988); Laure Murat, *Passage de l'Odéon: Sylvia Beach, Adrienne Monnier, et la vie littéraire à Paris dans l'entre-deux-guerres* (Paris: Fayard, 2003); and Keri Walsh, *The Letters of Sylvia Beach* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).
71. *Publishers Weekly*; April 12, 1924, 1261–62.
72. Lacroix, "Littérature, analyse de réseaux et centralité," 485.
73. André Chamson, "Le Secret de Sylvia," in *Sylvia Beach,* 1887–1962 (France: Firmin-Didot, 1963), 22.
74. Beach, *Shakespeare and Company,* 9.
75. Diana Souhami, *The Trials of Radclyffe Hall* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1998), 141, 155; also see Jacobus X, *Crossways of Sex. A Study in*

Erotico-Pathology; 2 vols. (Paris: British Bibliophiles' Society [Carrington], 1904). Heike Bauer discusses Hall's readings of the German sexologists to develop her sexual theories in *The Well of Loneliness,* but she does not consider how she may have purchased this material in Paris, possibly in English translation; see Heike Bauer, *English Literary Sexology: Translation of Inversion,* 1860–1930 (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 114–15.

76. See Blower, *Becoming Americans in Paris,* 220–21.
77. Beach, *Shakespeare and Company*; 18; and see Fitch, *Sylvia Beach and the Lost Generation,* 39.
78. Beach, *Shakespeare and Company*; 20; and Fitch, *Sylvia Beach and the Lost Generation,* 43.
79. See the account books from 1921 and 1922, Sylvia Beach Papers, C0108, boxes 62 and 63, Princeton University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton, NJ. Carrington published a number of different editions of *The Picture of Dorian Gray*; but Beach does not specify which Carrington editions she sold. She also sold Tauchnitz's cheaper continental editions of Wilde's work.
80. See the entry for November 23 in Beach's account book from 1921, Sylvia Beach Papers, C0108, box 62, Princeton University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton, NJ.
81. Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English,* 404.
82. Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English,* 39–40; and Timothy d'Arch Smith, *R. A. Caton and The Fortune Press* (London: Bertram Rota, 1983), 15. A Parisian police report from February 10, 1932, following up on a book displayed in the shop window, gives some information about the shop and indicates that Groves' nationality was British; see Sous-Série BA (cabinet du préfet de police), box 2242, Archives de la Préfecture de la Police.
83. See Beach's address book (Repertoire) for 1925–26, Sylvia Beach Papers, C0108, box 65, Princeton University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton, NJ.
84. See Alfred Richard Allinson's letter to Charles A. Groves, April 24, 1924, which includes an enclosure with a printed list of Carrington book's auctioned at Hotel Drouot on March 18, 1924, Papers of Sir Richard Francis Burton, MS RFB 1337, box 49, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA. Ads for the auction appeared in *La Gazette de l'Hotel Drouot,* March 13, 1924, n.p.
85. Pierre Mac Orlan appears in Beach's address book from 1935–38, and Jean Fort's Librairie Astra appears a few different times in her account books in the 1920s and 1930s; see Sylvia Beach Papers, C0108, boxes 25 and 63, Princeton University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton, NJ. Was it Joyce's reading habits that put Beach in contact with the Parisian flagellantia network?
86. See Harris's letter to Beach, November 7, 1924, the Sylvia Beach Papers, C0108, box 200, Princeton University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton, NJ.
87. This correspondence from customers with orders and inquiries for Beach is collected in the Sylvia Beach Papers, C0108, box 86, Princeton University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton, NJ.

88. The Paris bookshops with which Beach regularly dealt were Brentano's (37, avenue de l'Opéra), J. De Francia (8, rue de Castiglione), the Galignani Library (224, rue de Rivoli), Librairie du Palais Royal (9, rue de Beaujolais, 93–94 Galerie Beaujolais), and W. H. Smith & Son (248, rue de Rivoli). See her address book from 1927–29, Sylvia Beach's Papers, C0108, box 67, Princeton University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton, NJ.
89. James Joyce, *Ulysses* (1922; Paris: Shakespeare and Company, 1924).
90. See Beach's account books from 1924, Sylvia Beach Papers, C0108, box 64, Princeton University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton, NJ.
91. Michael Reynolds, *Hemingway, the Paris Years* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 14.
92. Robert Darnton, "What is the History of Books?" *The Case for Books: Past, Present and Future* (New York: Public Affairs, 2009), 179.
93. Frank Harris, *My Life and Loves,* vol. 1 (Paris: Privately Printed, 1922), 198.
94. See Beach's account booklet from August to October 1923, Sylvia Beach's Papers, C0108, box 63, Princeton University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton, NJ.
95. See Harris's correspondence with Beach from August 3, 1923, October 14, 1923, February 2, 1924, Oct. 29, 1925, June 4, 1926, June 14, 1926, and June 19, 1926, Sylvia Beach Papers, C0108, box 200, Princeton University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton, NJ. For information about Caton and his partnership with Groves and Leonard, see D'Arch Smith, *R. A. Caton and The Fortune Press,* 14; and Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English,* 39–40. Also see Caton's reprint of Carrington's Paris edition of Pierre Louÿs, *Aphrodite. A Novel of Ancient Manners* (London: Fortune Press, 1928).
96. D. H. Lawrence, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (Florence: Privately Printed [Guiseppi Orioli], 1928).
97. D. H. Lawrence, "A Propos of *Lady Chatterley's Lover,*" in *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (London: Mandrake Press, 1930). Also see Jay A. Gertzman, *A Descriptive Bibliography of Lady Chatterley's Lover: With Essays Toward a Publishing History of the Novel* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989).
98. See D. H. Lawrence's correspondence with Beach from December 19, 1928, December 24, 1928, and January 12, 1929, Sylvia Beach Papers, C0108, box 210, Princeton University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton, NJ.
99. See Guiseppe Orioli's correspondence with Beach from April 4, 1928, Sylvia Beach, C0108, box 210, Princeton University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton, NJ. Orioli began receiving requests from authors wanting him to publish their "semi-pornographic" manuscripts after the *succès de scandale* of *Lady Chatterley's Lover.* He did continue expatriate publishing from Florence, publishing in his Lungarno series authors like Somerset Maugham, Richard Aldington, Norman Douglas; see Guiseppe Orioli, *Adventures of a Bookseller* (Florence: Privately Printed for Subscribers by G. Orioli, [1937]).
100. Beach, *Shakespeare and Company,* 92.

101. D. H. Lawrence, *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence,* vol. 7, ed. James T. Boulton and Keith Sagar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 218–19.
102. David Ellis, *D. H. Lawrence: Dying Game* 1922–1930 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 474. Also see Beach, *Shakespeare and Company,* 93.
103. For a good overview of the Radclyffe Hall obscenity trial, see Souhami, *The Trials of Radclyffe Hall,* 167–230; and Jonathan Dollimore, *Sex, Literature and Censorship* (Oxford: Polity Press, 2001), 95–106.
104. Radclyffe Hall, *The Well of Loneliness* (Paris: Pegasus Press, 1928).
105. Joan Schenkar, *Truly Wilde: The Unsettling Story of Dolly Wilde, Oscar's Unusual Niece* (New York: Da Capo, 2001), 164. Also see Beach's entry for October 28 from her account booklet from August to December 1928, Sylvia Beach Papers, C0108, box 67, Princeton University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton, NJ.
106. Souhami, *The Trials of Radclyffe Hall,* 222.
107. Lawrence S. Rainey, *Institutions of Modernism: Literary Elites and Public Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 53–54, 76.
108. Beach, *Shakespeare and Company,* 52.
109. Rachel Potter, "Obscene Modernism and the Trade in Salacious Books," *Modernism/modernity* 16, no. 1 (2009): 87–104, especially 96.
110. On Beach's self-censored memoirs, see Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank,* 223–24.
111. Beach, *Shakespeare and Company,* 90. Beach makes handwritten comments about the contributors of *Two Worlds* on a copy of the magazine collected among her papers: see Sylvia Beach Papers, C0108, box 80, Princeton University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton, NJ. Also see *Two Worlds,* ed. Sam Roth (New York: Two Worlds Pub. Co, 1925–27).
112. Lawrence, "Pornography and Obscenity," in *Late Essays and Articles,* ed. James T Boulton. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 233–53. Rachel Potter describes how in "a series of letters during 1918 and 1919, Pound asked Joyce, with increasing irritation, to excise 'the stool', the feces', the whole obsession with an 'arsthetic' from *Ulysses*"; see Rachel Potter, "'Can my daughter of 18 read this book?': *Ulysses* and Obscenity," *Critical Quarterly* 46, no. 4 (2004): 22–47, quotation on 34. Also see Ezra Pound's letters to James Joyce, March 29, 1918, and June 10, 1919, in Forrest Read ed., *Pound/Joyce: The Letters of Ezra Pound to James Joyce* (London: Faber and Faber, 1967), 131, 158.
113. Beach, *Shakespeare and Company,* 132–33.
114. There is no comprehensive publishing archive for Kahane or Girodias.
115. Jack Kahane, *Memoirs of a Booklegger,* 217.
116. F. Scott Fitzgerald, "Babyon Revisted," *Saturday Evening Post,* February 21, 1931, 3–5, 82–84; and Malcolm Cowley, *Exile's Return: A Narrative of Ideas* (New York: Norton, 1934).
117. Norah C. James, *Sleeveless Errand* (London: Scholartis Press, 1929); and *Sleeveless Errand. A Novel* (Paris: Henry Babon & Jack Kahane, 1929).
118. Kahane, *Memoirs of a Booklegger,* 224.
119. Girodias, *The Frog Prince: An Autobiography* (New York: Crown, 1980), 351. This is a translation from the first volume of *Une Journée sur la terre* (Paris: Stock, 1977).

120. James Joyce, *Haveth Childers Everywhere* (Paris: H. Babou and J. Kahane, 1930); and Kahane, *Memoirs of a Booklegger,* 218, 225–26.
121. Cecil Barr [Jack Kahane], *Daffodil, or Accidents Will Happen* (Paris: The Vendôme Press, 1931); Radclyffe Hall, *The Well of Loneliness* (Paris: Obelisk Press, 1933); Lawrence, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (Paris: Obelisk Press, 1936); and Frank Harris, *My Life and Loves* (Paris: The Obelisk, 1934).
122. D'Arch Smith, *R. A. Caton and The Fortune Press,* 17.
123. Girodias, *The Frog Prince,* 114, 222–23. For an annotated list of expatriate sites in 1920s Paris, see Arlen J. Hansen, *Expatriate Paris: A Cultural and Literary Guide to Paris of the* 1920*s* (New York: Arcade, 1990).
124. *Suburban Souls: The Erotic Psychology of a Man and a Maid* (Paris: Printed for distribution amongst private subscribers only [Carrington], 1901).
125. Girodias, *The Frog Prince,* 114.
126. Ibid., 113, 254.
127. Pearson, *Obelisk,* 272. A copy of this pamphlet also appears in Sylvia Beach's Papers, C0108, box 80, Princeton University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton, NJ.
128. Kahane, *Memoirs of a Booklegger* (London: Michael Joseph, 1939), 226.
129. Beach, *Shakespeare and Company,* 207.
130. Henry Miller, *The Tropic of Cancer* (Paris: Obelisk Press, 1934).
131. Kahane, *Memoirs of a Booklegger,* 260; Fitch, *Sylvia Beach and the Lost Generation,* 304.
132. Girodias, *The Frog Prince,* 273.
133. Pearson, *Obelisk,* 2.
134. Bowers, *Americans in Paris,* 213–14.
135. George Orwell, "Inside the Whale," in *The Collected Essays, Journalism, and Letters of George Orwell: An Age Like This,* 1920–1940, ed. Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus (Jaffrey, NH: Nonpareil, 2000), 493–526, quotation on 494.
136. Orwell, "Inside the Whale," 502.
137. Donald Pizer, *American Expatriate Writing and the Paris Moment: Modernism and Place* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996), 126, 127.
138. Girodias, introduction to *The Olympia Reader* (New York: Grove Press, 1965), 14.
139. Girodias, *The Frog Prince,* 351.
140. Girodias, introduction, 18.
141. Pauline Réage, *The Story of O* (Paris: the Olympia Press, 1954); Vladimir Nabokov, *Lolita* (Paris: the Olympia Press, 1955); William Burroughs's *Naked Lunch* (Paris: the Olympia Press, 1959); *White Thighs* (Paris: the Olympia Press, 1955); *The Sexual Life of Robinson Crusoe* (Paris: the Olympia Press, 1955); and *Teleny* (Paris: the Olympia Press, 1958).
142. Girodias, introduction, 20.
143. Ibid., 19.
144. Girodias, preface to Patrick Kearney, *The Paris Olympia Press* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007), x.
145. Kearney, *The Paris Olympia Press,* 17.
146. The Obscene Publications Act, 1959, 7 & 8 Eliz. 2, ch. 66; D. H. Lawrence, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1960).
147. For a complete history of Girodias's publishing career, see John de

St. Jorre, The *Good Ship Venus: The Erotic Voyage of the Olympia Press* (London: Hutchinson, 1994).

148. *Publishers Weekly,* January 7, 1928, and March 30, 1929. There were many other such ads, likely posted by Esar Levine, who later founded Panurge Press; see, for example, June 23, 1928, and July 21, 1928. Also see Gertzman, *Bookleggers and Smuthounds,* 89.
149. Gertzman, *Bookleggers and Smuthounds,* 230, 274. Roth may have acquired his Paris stock from H. S. Nichols, who moved to New York City in 1908, and St. George Best in Chicago, who according to Gershon Legman was Carrington's agent in America, bringing his material up to America from Mexico.
150. See "Paris Book Shop," Erotica Producers Vertical Files (Mexico, 20th Century), Kinsey Institute of Sex Research, Indiana University, Bloomington. An American named Leonard, who had gone into business in Paris with Frank Groves after his split with Michaux, set up this business in Tijuana; see Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English,* 39–40.
151. See Renato Poggioli, *The Theory of the Avant Garde,* trans. Gerald Fitzgerald (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968), 19; and Gerald Raunig, *Art and Revolution: Transversal Activism in the Long Twentieth Century,* trans. Aileen Derieg (Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 2007), 205.

6. Suburban Souls *and the Literary Family, Paris circa 1900*

1. Jerome McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 16. Also see Josephine M. Guy and Ian Small, *The Textual Condition of Nineteenth-Century Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2012), especially 1–20.
2. *Suburban Souls: The Erotic Psychology of a Man and a Maid* (Paris: Printed for distribution amongst private subscribers only [Carrington], 1901). All citations are from the Grove Press edition: *Suburban Souls: The Erotic Psychology of a Man and a Maid* (New York: Grove Press, 1968). The Grove Press edition is based on the original 1901 Carrington edition which is held at the Kinsey Institute and which I have also examined: I analyze some of its material properties at various points in the chapter.
3. *Suburban Souls,* 447.
4. Ibid., 64, 194, 66.
5. Ibid., 138.
6. Lisa Sigel, "The Rise of the Overly Affectionate Family," in *International Exposure: Perspectives on Modern European Pornography, 1800–1900,* ed. Lisa Z. Sigel (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 104. Sigel provides an overview of Freud's theories, incest law, and incest pornography.
7. *Forbidden Books: Notes and Gossip on Tabooed Literature by an Old Bibliophile* (Paris: For the author and his friends [Carrington], 1902), 129.
8. *Suburban Souls,* 215.
9. Ibid., 30.
10. See the prospectus for *Suburban Souls* (1901) in *Bibliotheca Carringtoniensis,*

a collection of Carrington's promotional materials held at The Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction, Indiana University, Bloomington.

11. Gershon Legman, *The Horn Book and Other Bibliographical Problems* (New York: American Aphrodite, 1953), 4–5; and *Slang and its Analogues, Past and Present,* ed. J. S. Farmer (n.p. [London]: For Subscribers only, 1890–1904).
12. *Flossie. A Venus of Fifteen* (Carnopolis [Paris]: for the Delectation of the Amorous and the Instruction of the Amateur in the Year of the Excitement of the Sexes [Carrington], 1897); *Teleny, or The Reverse of the Medal, A Physiological Romance of To-Day* (Cosmopoli [London]: n.p. [Leonard Smithers], 1893); and *My Secret Life* (Amsterdam: Not for publication [Brancart?], [c. 1888–c. 1894]).
13. Hector France, postscript, *The Chastisement of Mansour* (London [Paris]: Printed for the Société des Bibliophiles Parisiens [Carrington], 1898), 246.
14. *Suburban Souls,* 44.
15. Ibid., 52.
16. *The Horn Book, a Girl's Guide to the Knowledge of Good and Evil* (Paris: Société des Bibliophiles Étrangers, In the Street of Untouched Virgins, 1898); see Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English,* 1800–1930*: A Bibliographical Study* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993), 289.
17. *Suburban Souls,* 9; and Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 338.
18. For information on Alfred Van Dyck's arrest and prosecution, see the *Times* (London), June 1, 1897, 15; and June 5, 1897, 14.
19. *Suburban Souls,* 175.
20. *The Double Life of Cuthbert Cockerton* (Haarlem [Paris]: n.p. [Carrington], 1895 [c. 1899–1900]); and [Restif de la Bretonne], *L'Antijustine, ou Les Délices de l'Amour* (n.p. [Paris]: Au Palais-Royal, 1798). Also see *Forbidden Books,* 171; and Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 315.
21. *Suburban Souls,* 455–56.
22. *Forbidden Books,* 172. The Boompjes is in Rotterdam.
23. *Suburban Souls,* 39, 458.
24. See the prospectus for *Suburban Souls* in *Bibliotheca Carringtoniensis.*
25. *Suburban Souls,* 13, 208.
26. See the prospectus for *Suburban Souls* in *Bibliotheca Carringtoniensis.*
27. Vladimir Nabokov, *The Annotated Lolita,* ed. Alfred Appel Jr. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), 6. The Paris-based Olympia Press published the first edition: Vladimir Nabokov, *Lolita* (Paris: the Olympia Press, 1955).
28. Carrington used the phrase "under lock and key" to advertise the books listed in his catalogue "Bibliotheca Arcana" (1899) in *Album* 7, a collection of clandestine book catalogues, Private Case Collection, Cup.354.g.48, British Library. He also advertised this catalogue in the short-lived London periodical *Society,* which is one of the periodicals exchanged in *Suburban Souls;* see *Society,* April 22, 1899, 1427; and *Suburban Souls,* 454.
29. *Suburban Souls,* 29–30; also Walter Benjamin "The Task of the Translator: An Introduction to the Translation of Baudelaire's *Tableaux Parisiens,*" in *Illuminations,* trans. Harry Zohn, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken, 1969), 72–73.
30. *Suburban Souls,* 9.
31. Ibid., 10.

32. Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 10; and McGann, *The Textual Condition,* 16.
33. Henry Vizetelly, *Extracts Principally from English Classics* (London: Printed for private circulation [Vizetelly], 1888); see "Bibliotheca Arcana" (1899) in *Album* 7, which lists Vizetelly's extracts for an exorbitant four guineas.
34. The London *Times* followed Vizetelly's prosecutions in 1888 and 1889 closely: see the *Times* (London), August 11, 1888, 13; September 18, 1888, 10; September 21, 1888, 10; November 1, 1888, 13; February 2, 1889, 4; May 2, 1899, 3; and May 31, 1889, 12.
35. Jeremy Collier, *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage* (London: S. Keble, 1698).
36. See, for example, the epigraph in chapter 7 of *Suburban Souls* (p. 132), which is taken from the final scene of Shakespeare's *Henry VIII.*
37. In most cases, *Suburban Souls* does not cite specific editions of these works, and there were often a number of different editions in circulation by different publisher-booksellers. The bibliographic entries for those works not already cited are for editions that were circulating around the time of the novel's composition: *The Yellow Room or, Alice Darvell's Subjection. A Tale of the Birch* by M. Comte du Bouleau (London: Privately Printed [Brancart], 1891); *Flossie. A Venus of Fifteen* (Carnopolis [Paris]: for the Delectation of the Amorous and the Instruction of the Amateur in the Year of the Excitement of the Sexes [Carrington], 1897); *The Romance of Lust; or, Early Experiences,* 4 vols. (London: n.p, 1892[?]); *The Convent School, or Early Experiences of a Young Flagellant* (London: Privately Printed, 1898); *The Mysteries of Verbena House or, Miss Bellasis Birched for Thieving* (London and New York: Printed for the Erotica Biblion Society, 1898); *Gynecocracy. A Narrative of the Adventures and Psychological Experiences of Julian Robinson (afterwards Viscount Ladywood) Under Petticoat-Rule written by himself* (Paris and Rotterdam, 1893 [1896–97?]); John Cleland, *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure (Fanny Hill)* (Amsterdam: n.p. [Brancart], 1893); *The Memoirs of Dolly Morton. The Story of a Woman's Part in the Struggle to Free the Slaves* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1899); and *The Pleasures of Cruelty, being a sequel to the reading of Justine et Juliette by the Marquis de Sade* (Paris et London: n.p. [Duringe-Smithers-Hirsch], 1898). *The Confessions of Nemesis Hunt* appeared as a weekly serial in the *Society* magazine from April 1899 to February 1900. I have not seen or found a bibliographical reference for *Colonel Spanker's Lecture.* For further bibliographical speculation about these publications, see Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction.*
38. *Suburban Souls,* 454.
39. Jacobus X, Dr. *The Ethnology of the Sixth Sense* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1899).
40. *Suburban Souls,* 452.
41. Ibid., 469.
42. Edmond Tarbé, *Césarée* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1891), 207; and *Suburban Souls,* 329.
43. *Suburban Souls,* 380, 390.
44. Léon Daudet, *Suzanne: Roman contemporain* (Paris: E. Fasquelle, 1897), 82, 203; *Suburban Souls,* 15, 27, 86.
45. *Suburban Souls,* 407.
46. Ibid, 444.

47. Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature,* ed. Randal Johnson (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993).
48. Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Parody: The Teachings of Twentieth-Century Art Forms* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press), 23, 37, 87. Hutcheon provides a theoretical overview of the concept of intertextuality, beginning with Julia Kristeva's coinage.
49. Franco Moretti, *The Atlas of the European Novel,* 1800–1900 (London: Verso, 1998), 3.
50. See, for example, Walter Benjamin, "Paris, the Capital of the Nineteenth Century," in *Selected Writings,* vol. 3, 1935–1938, ed. Michael W. Jennings and Howard Eiland (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), 32–49.
51. *Suburban Souls,* 496–97. The Parisian references are to urban pleasure circuits, such as le Jardin de Paris, le Jardin Mabille, and le Moulin Rouge, and to famous can-can dancers, such as Grille d'Égout, so-named because of the gaps between her teeth.
52. Ibid., 86.
53. Ibid., 15, 25, 27.
54. Ibid., 257, 270–71, 267.
55. Pascal Boissel, "Le Café de la Paix," in *Paris et ses Cafés,* ed. Delphine Christophe and Georgina Letourmy (Action Artistique Ville Paris, 2004), 63: "D'abord lieu des rendez-vous des nostalgiques de l'Empire, *le Café de la Paix* devient, a partir de l'ouverture de l'Opéra le restaurant en vogue du quartier. Poste idéal d'observation des boulevards, il attire bientôt artistes, écrivains, journalistes, riches étrangers, et gens de théâtre, d'opéra et de finance."
56. See Yves Bizet, *Paris au fil des jours dans la carte postale ancienne,* 1900 (Paris: Gerfaut, 2003), 105; and Oscar Wilde, *The Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde,* ed. Merlin Holland and Rupert Hart-Davis (London: Fourth Estate, 2000), 1177.
57. *Guide secret pour étrangers et viveurs* (Paris: A. Balpe, 1900), 22.
58. *Suburban Souls,* 145, 208, 473.
59. Ibid., 13, 230, 208.
60. Bruno Carrière, *Les Trains de banlieue* (Paris: La Vie du Rail, 1998), 10.
61. *Forbidden Books,* 124.
62. *Suburban Souls,* 39.
63. Ibid., 86.
64. Ibid., 103.
65. Ibid., 141–42.
66. Jean Baudrillard, *The Ecstasy of Communication,* ed. Sylvère Lotringer, trans. Bernard and Caroline Schutze (New York: Semiotext(e), 1988), 22.
67. For Raymond Williams's discussion of "material social practice," see his "From Medium to Social Practice," in *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 158–64, esp. 163.
68. See note 37.
69. *Suburban Souls,* 274, 351, 446.
70. Ibid., 364.
71. Donatien Alphonse François de Sade, *La Nouvelle Justine, ou les Malheurs de la vertu, suivie de l'Histoire de Juliette, sa soeur* (En Hollande: n.p., 1797).

72. *Suburban Souls,* 211, 228, 232, 339.
73. Ibid., 221.
74. Ibid., 230.
75. Theodor W. Adorno "On the Use of Foreign Words," *Notes to Literature,* vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), 288.
76. One of Carrington's early publications was titled *The Secret Cabinet of History Peeped into by a Doctor,* trans. W. C. Costello (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1897).
77. *Suburban Souls,* 87, 125, 141.
78. D. H. Lawrence, "Pornography and Obscenity," *Late Essays and Articles,* ed. James T Boulton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 233–53; see 252.
79. *My Secret Life,* vol. 1, ed. G. Legman (New York: Grove Press, [1966]), 586–88, 589–99. This edition is based on the original eleven-volume edition.
80. See, for example, H. C. G. Matthew, ed., *The Gladstone Diaries,* vol. 12, 1887–1891 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 295, 302.
81. Patrick Brantlinger, *The Reading Lesson: The Threat of Mass Literacy in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998). 4. In his discussion of mass literacy and literary education, Brantlinger makes an observation that adds to my discussion of *Suburban Souls:* "Novel-reading within a given novel can reinforce the illusion that the main text is real, or just a shade removed from reality."
82. *Suburban Souls,* 306–7.
83. Ibid., 351, 363, 376.
84. Ibid., 422.
85. Ibid., 383.
86. Pierre Louÿs, *La Femme et le pantin, roman espagnol* (Paris: Société du Mercure de France, 1898). Also see *Suburban Souls,* 407, 452, 451.
87. Walter Benjamin, "Paralipomena to 'On the Concept of History,'" in *Selected Writings,* 1938–1940, vol. 4, ed. Michael W. Jennings and Howard Eiland (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), 401–11, esp. 405.
88. *Suburban Souls,* 143, 20, 37, 58, 117, 108, 400.
89. Ibid., 452–53; cf. 206.
90. *Suburban Souls,* 102.
91. Robert de Louis, *L'Anneau* (Paris: E. Fasquelle, 1898); and *Suburban Souls,* 285.
92. *Suburban Souls,* 390.
93. Some of these titles have already been cited; for the additional titles, I cite those contemporary to the novel: Daniel Defoe, *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders* (London: Mathieson and Co., [1896]); Paul Bonnetain, *Charlot s'amuse* (Bruxelles: H. Kistemaeckers, 1883); and *L'École des biches ou Moeurs des petites dames de ce temps* (Bruxelles: n.p., 1863–1910). For Eric's discussion of some of this literature, see *Suburban Souls,* 457.
94. For additional titles, see *The Memoirs of Jacques Casanova* (n.p. [London]: Privately Printed [Smithers & Nichols], 1894); and Robert de Louis, *Le Partage du cœur* (Paris: Fasquelle, 1900).
95. *Suburban Souls,* 477–78.

96. Ibid., 213.
97. Ibid., 30.
98. Charles Dawes, *A Study of Erotic Literature in England* (unpublished, 1943), 296, 300; and D. H. Lawrence, *Lady Chatterley's Lover.* [Florence]: Privately Printed [Orioli], 1928.
99. Richard Manton, *The Victorian Imagination: A Sampler* (New York: Grove Press, 1985), 17.
100. Allison Pease, *Modernism, Mass Culture, and the Aesthetics of Obscenity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), xi–xv.
101. James Joyce, *Ulysses* (Paris: Shakespeare and Company, 1922).
102. Benjamin, "Paralipomena to 'On the Concept of History,'" 401–11.

7. Teleny, *the 1890s, and Charles Hirsch's "Notice bibliographique," 1934*

1. *Teleny, or The Reverse of the Medal, A Physiological Romance of To-Day,* 2 vols. (Cosmopoli [London]: n.p. [Leonard Smithers], 1893).
2. Antoine François Prévost, [*Manon Lescaut*], Suite des *Mémoires et avantures d'un homme de qualité qui s'est retiré du monde* (Amsterdam: aux dépens de la Compagnie, 1731).
3. *Teleny: Étude physiologique, traduit de l'anglais sur le manuscrit original révisé par l'auteur* (Paris: Edition privée, souscrits par les membres du Ganymède Club de Paris [Charles Hirsch], 1934). Included in this edition is Hirsch's "Notice bibliographique extraite des notes et souvenirs d'un vieux bibliopole," 5–12. (Bibliographic record extracted from the notes and memories of an old booklover.)
4. For a translation of Hirsch's notice, see Peter Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English, 1800–1930: A Bibliographical Study* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993), 447–49.
5. For arguments that Wilde was the author of *Teleny,* see Winston Leyland, introduction to *Teleny, a Novel Attributed to Oscar Wilde,* ed. Leyland (San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press, 1984); Mark Mitchell and David Leavitt eds., *Pages Passed from Hand to Hand: The Hidden Tradition of Homosexual Literature in English from 1748 to 1914* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997); and James Nelson, *Publisher to the Decadents. Leonard Smithers in the Careers of Beardsley, Wilde, Dowson* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).
6. See Richard Ellmann, *Oscar Wilde* (New York: Knopf, 1987); and Robert Gray and Christopher Keep, "'An Uninterrupted Current': Homoeroticism and Collaborative Authorship in *Teleny,*" in *Literary Couplings: Writing Couples, Collaborators, and the Construction of Authorship,* ed. Marjorie Stone and Judith Thompson (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 193–208. For debates on Wilde's involvement in *Teleny,* see H. Montgomery Hyde, *Oscar Wilde: A Biography* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1976); Rupert Croft-Cooke, *The Unrecorded Life of Oscar Wilde* (London: W. H. Allen, 1972); and Neil McKenna, *The Secret Life of Oscar Wilde* (London: Century, 2003).
7. Jerome McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 15; and *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

8. The *Teleny* manuscript has not survived. The two early editions of the novel were *Teleny, or The Reverse of the Medal. A Physiological Romance of To-day,* 2 vols. (Cosmopoli [London]: n.d. [Leonard Smithers], 1893); and *Teleny, or the Reverse of the Medal,* 2 vols. (Cosmopoli [Paris?]: n.p. [Charles Carrington?], 1906).
9. *Times* (London), November 5, 1886, 4; and November 20, 1886, 6.
10. *Times* (London), May 8, 1890, 13; May 22, 1890, 3; and June 7, 1890, 7. Also see "Obscene French Novels," *Vigilance Record,* May 1890, 39, and Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 14.
11. *Times* (London) followed Vizetelly's prosecutions in 1888 and 1889 closely: see August 11, 1888, 13; September 18, 1888, 10; September 21, 1888, 10; November 1, 1888, 13; February 2, 1889, 4; May 2, 1899, 3; and May 31, 1889, 12. For further information about Vizetelly, see Denise Merkle, "Vizetelly & Company as (Ex)change Agent: Towards the Modernization of the British Publishing Industry," in *Agents of Translation,* eds. John Milton and Paul F. Bandia (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2009), 85–105.
12. *Times* (London), February 29, 1890, 10; April 2, 1890, 4; and April 24, 1890, 4. Some of the titles seized from his shop were *Priapeia or the Sportive Epigrams of Divers Poets on Priapus* (Athens [London]: Erotika Biblion Society [Smithers], 1888); and Emile Zola, *Nana: A Realistic Novel* (London: Vizetelly & Co, 1884).
13. Hirsch gave an account of his business relationship with Madame Subtil when he was indicted on obscenity charges in 1899: he had been her employee, and then took the business over from her, paying a rental of 225 pounds. See the *Times* (London), January 30, 1899, 14.
14. *Academy,* April 3, 1897, 383.
15. Richard Le Gallienne included this description of Hirsch's bookshop in a review of his edition of William Platt, *Women, Love, and Life* (London: Charles Hirsch, 1895). This review was reprinted in Platt's next book *Love Triumphant,* which was again published by Hirsch; see William Platt, *Love Triumphant* (London: Charles Hirsch, 1896).
16. For Hirsch's ads, see the *Athenaeum,* February 20, 1892, 256; and the *Times* (London), February 18, 1892, 8.
17. See Charles Hirsch to W. E. Gladstone, May 10, 1892, MS Add44514, f. 257, British Library. In his 1899 trial for obscenity, Hirsch again returned to the defense that no foreign literature had ever been convicted on obscenity charges in Britain: see the *Times* (London), March 2, 1899, 13–14. Also see Colette Colligan, "The PM's Pornographer," *Times Literary Supplement,* February 4, 2011, 15.
18. See Joyce Marlow, *Mr and Mrs Gladstone: An Intimate Biography* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977), 76.
19. Ibid., 218–19, 227.
20. M. R. D. Foot and H. C. G. Matthew, eds., *The Gladstone Diaries,* vol. 4, 1848–1854 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 344, 346.
21. H. C. G. Matthew, ed., *The Gladstone Diaries,* vol. 12, 1887–1891 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 295, 302. Gladstone read, for example, *Vénus la populaire ou Apologie des maisons de joie* (Bruxelles: Gay et Doucé, 1881). His mention of *Phallic Worship* is more difficult to identify, as there were a few similar titles circulating at the time.

22. See Hirsch's letter to Gladstone, May 10, 1892, MS Add44514, f. 257.
23. H. C. G. Matthew, ed., *The Gladstone Diaries,* vol. 13, 1892–1896 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 26. Note that the footnote reference misidentifies Gladstone's correspondent as Maurice Hirsch.
24. E. Beresford Chancellor, *Wanderings in Piccadilly, Mayfair and Pall Mall* (London: Alston Rivers, [1908]), v.
25. *Times* (London), January 15, 1890, 13.
26. *Times* (London), February 17, 1886, 6. For other police reports on the Café du Globe, see the *Times* (London), January 3, 1885:12; February 3, 1885, 3; and November 17, 1886, 4.
27. See *My Secret Life,* ed. Gershon Legman (New York: Grove Press, 1966), 1149, 1646; and *Times* (London), July 8, 1887, 9.
28. *Times* (London), January 6, 1900, 13.
29. *Kelly's Post Office Directory London* (London: Kelly & Co., 1890).
30. See "Sale of First Editions," *Times* (London), 9 March 9, 1888, 14; "Art Sales," December 17, 1887, 13; and "The Hamilton Collection of Manuscripts," *Times* (London), March 24, 1889: 9.
31. Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 15; also see Nelson, *Publisher to the Decadents,* 289.
32. *The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night,* 10 vols., trans. Richard F. Burton (London: Printed by the Kama Shastra Society, 1885–[6]); see Isabel Burton's letter to solicitors, Papers of Sir Richard Francis Burton, MS RFB 214, box 3, the Huntington Library, San Marino, CA. Also see Mary Lovell, *Rage to Live: A Biography of Richard and Isabel Burton* (London: Little, 1998), 695, 779.
33. Guillaume Apollinaire, Fernand Fleuret, and Louis Perceau, *L'Enfer de la Bibliothèque nationale: Icono-bio-bibliographie descriptive, critique et raisonée compléte à ce jour de tous les ouvrages composant cette célébre collection* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1913), 378; and *Gynecocracy. A Narrative of the Adventures and Psychological Experiences of Julian Robinson (afterwards Viscount Ladywood) Under Petticoat-Rule written by himself* (Paris and Rotterdam, 1893 [1896–97?]). See Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 15.
34. Robert Machray, *The Night Side of London* (London: John MacQueen, 1902), 218, 222; also see *Kelly's Post Office Directory* (London: Kelly & Co., 1890).
35. See *Kelly's Post Office Directory* (London: Kelly & Co., 1900).
36. *Times* (London), October 10, 1900, 12.
37. Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 12–13, 16–19.
38. Nelson, *Publisher to the Decadents,* 49.
39. Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 450.
40. *Sins of the Cities of the Plain or the Recollections of a Mary-Anne with Short Essays on Sodomy and Tribadism,* 2 vols. (London: Privately Printed [Lazenby?], 1881), vol. 1, 7–8.
41. Machray, *The Night Side of London,* 15.
42. E. Beresford Chancellor, *Wanderings in Piccadilly, Mayfair and Pall Mall* (London: Alston Rivers, 1908), 76–77.
43. For information about the Paris Exposition, see the English guidebooks of the period: E. C. & T. L. Stedman, *Pocket Guide to the Universal Exposition Paris* 1900 (London and New York: Balliere, Tindall, & Cox, 1900);

and *Cassell's Guide to Paris and the Universal Exhibition of* 1900 (London: Cassell, 1900). For the most informative study on the geopolitics of French world fairs, see William H. Schneider, *An Empire for the Masses: The French Popular Image of Africa,* 1870–1900 (London: Greenwood, 1982).

44. Raymond Rudorff, *Belle Epoque, Paris in the Nineties* (London: H. Hamilton, 1972), 332–33).
45. Paul Morand, *Paris* 1900 *AD* (Paris: n.p, 1931), 95–96, 74.
46. For Hirsch's prosecution on charges of obscene libel, see the *Times* (London) January 27, 1899, 12; January 30, 1899, 14; March 2, 1899, 13–14; and March 10, 1899, 3. Hirsch served his sentence at Wormwood Scrubs Prison; see *A Calendar of Prisoners Tried at the March General Session of the Peace in the County of London,* LJ/SR/221, London Metropolitan Archives. For further information on Hirsch, see Charles Reginald Dawes, *A Study of Erotic Literature in England* (unpublished, 1943), 252–59 and Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 13–15. Also see chapter 5 in this book.
47. Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction,* 310–11. Mendes describes the 1899 prequel, titled *Des Grieux* (*The Prelude to "Teleny"*), which I have not seen.
48. Oscar Wilde, *The Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde,* ed. Merlin Holland and Rupert Hart-Davis (London: Fourth Estate, 2000), 1190.
49. Ibid., 1191, 1196.
50. Ernest la Jeunesse et al., *Recollections of Oscar Wilde,* ed. Percival Pollard (Boston & London: John W. Luce and Company, 1906), 81.
51. The British Post Office (hereafter PO) reported the seizure of a postal packet that contained a copy of "Theleny [*sic*], or the Reverse of the Medal" that was addressed to the Paris publisher and bookseller Isidore Liseux. It had been returned from Paris with the note that he was deceased. See PO to Home Office (hereafter HO), October 11, 1894, National Archives (hereafter NA), HO 144/192/A46657D.
52. Peter Stallybrass and Allon White briefly explore a topography of touch in their study of midcentury social reformers whose tactile encounters with London were figured through "the contaminating touch. *Teleny*'s map of touch, however, is not preoccupied with contagion, but rather sympathy and synesthesia; see "The City: the Sewer, the Gaze, and the Contaminating Touch," in *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (London: Methuen, 1986), 125–48, quote on 136.
53. Gray and Keep, "'An Uninterrupted Current,'" 199.
54. Page references are from Winston Leyland's edition of *Teleny* (which is based on Hirsch's edition, but translated back into English), and will appear in parentheses at the end of each passage quoted or referenced in the text: see Winston Leyland, ed., *Teleny, a Novel Attributed to Oscar Wilde* (San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press, 1984).
55. Matthew Cook, *London and the Culture of Homosexuality,* 1885–1914 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 104.
56. John McRae, introduction to *Teleny,* by Oscar Wilde and Others, ed. John McRae (London: GMP, 1986), 19.
57. See Leyland, introduction, 19. Ed Cohen's essay on *Teleny* was the first serious scholarly study of the novel. He explores its "positive articulations of marginalized sexual practices and desires." See "Writing Gone Wilde: Homoerotic Desire in the Closet of Representation," *PMLA*

102, no. 5 (1987): 801–13, quote on 803. Cook examines *Teleny*'s thematic reconfiguration of city spaces in relation to the production of homosexual subculture; see Cook, *London and the Culture of Homosexuality,* 111–16.
58. Cook, *London and the Culture of Homosexuality,* 114.
59. Ibid., 112.
60. Ibid.
61. Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Photography at the Dock: Essays on Photographic History, Institutions, and Practices* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 233; and Linda Williams, *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure, and the Frenzy of the Visible* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 36.
62. Lynda Nead, *The Haunted Gallery: Painting, Photography, Film c.* 1900 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 181–83.
63. These films are collected in *The Movies Begin: A Treasury of Early Cinema,* 1894–1913 (New York: Kino on Video, 2002) and Alex de. Renzy, *A History of the Blue Movie* (North Hollywood: Caballero Video, n.d.).
64. See *My Secret Life,* 38.
65. Cook, *London and the Culture of Homosexuality,* 133.
66. Jean Baudrillard, *The Ecstasy of Communication,* ed. Sylvère Lotringer, trans. Bernard and Caroline Schutze (New York: Semiotext(e), 1988), 35.
67. "List of Rare and Curious Books" (c. 1904), *Album* 7, British Library.
68. Jean-Pierre Dutel, *Bibliographie des ouvrages érotiques publiés clandestinement en français entre* 1920 *et* 1970, 2 vols. (Paris: J. P. Dutel, 2005), 382–83.
69. See Hirsch, "Notice bibliographique," in *Teleny* (1934), 7, 8.
70. See Christopher Millard's letter published in the *St James Gazette,* April 29, 1905, 9; and Robert Sherard's reply on May 6, 1905, 13.
71. See Vyvyan Holland to Christopher Millard, August 5, 1921, Oscar Wilde and his Literary Circle Collection, box 32, folder 22, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Los Angeles, CA. Their edition of Wilde's letters appeared in 1921: *After Reading. Letters of Oscar Wilde to Robbie Ross* (London: Beaumont Press, 1921). Also see Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English,* 253.
72. Walter Benjamin, "On the Concept of History," in *Selected Writings,* 1938–1940, vol. 4, ed. Michael W. Jennings and Howard Eiland (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), 391.
73. See the Paris postal directory, *Annuaire du Commerce Didot-Bottin* (Paris: n.p., 1945).

8. Lolita, *Her Russian American Author, and His Paris Publisher, 1939–1967*

1. George Orwell, "Inside the Whale," in *The Collected Essays, Journalism, and Letters of George Orwell: An Age Like This,* 1920–1940, ed. Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus (Jaffrey, NH: Nonpareil, 2000), 493–526.
2. Henry Jones, *The Enormous Bed* (Paris: Olympia Press, 1955); and Winifred Drake, *Tender Was My Flesh* (Paris: Olympia Press, 1955).
3. For a complete bibliography of Olympia Press publications, see Patrick Kearney, *The Paris Olympia Press* (Liverpool University Press, 2007).
4. See, for example, John de St. Jorre, *The Good Ship Venus: The Erotic Voyage of the Olympia Press* (London: Hutchinson, 1994); James Campbell, *Paris Interzone: Richard Wright, Lolita, Boris Vian and Others on the Left Bank,*

1946–60 (London: Secker and Warburg, 1994); and Jaap van der Bent, "Nabokov's Unwanted Children: *Lolita* and the Writers of the Olympia Press," in *Uneasy Alliance: Twentieth-Century American Literature, Culture and Biography,* ed. Hans Bak (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), 215–28.

5. Vladimir Nabokov, "On a Book Entitled *Lolita,*" in *The Annotated Lolita,* ed. Alfred Appel Jr. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), 316.
6. See for example, William Monroe, "The Sequestered Imagination: Nabokov versus the Materialists," *Philological Quarterly* 70, no. 3 (1991), 379–94. Also see Jerome McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).
7. Nabokov, "On a Book Entitled *Lolita,*" 313–14. As Brian Boyd notes, Nabokov first explored the idea of an older man marrying a woman in order to seduce her daughter in a short passage in his Russian novel *The Gift* (1937); see his biography *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 169.
8. Boyd, *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years,* 329.
9. Nabokov to Véra Nabokov, February 20, 1937, in *Selected Letters* 1940–1977, ed. Dmitri Nabokov and Matthew J. Bruccoli (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovitch, 1989), 18–19.
10. Sirin [Nabokov], *Despair,* trans. by the author (London: John Long, 1937); Sirin [Nabokov], *Laughter in the Dark,* trans. by the author (Indianapolis & New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., [1938]); and Nabokov, *The Real Life of Sebastian Knight* (London: Editions Poetry London, 1945).
11. Brian Boyd, *Vladimir Nabokov: The Russian Years* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 423.
12. Brooke L. Blower, *Becoming Americans in Paris: Transatlantic Politics and Culture between the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 259.
13. Nabokov to Véra Nabokov, April 15, 1937, in *Selected Letters,* 22–24.
14. A photograph of this encounter appears in Gisèle Freund and V. B. Carleton, *James Joyce in Paris: His Final Years* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1965), 44–45. Also see Boyd's description of this lunch "Porusski" in *Vladimir Nabokov: The Russian Years,* 437.
15. James Joyce, *Ulysses* (Paris: Shakespeare and Company, 1922). For Nabokov's views on *Ulysses,* see Boyd, *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years,* 170; and Appel's notes to Nabokov, *The Annotated Lolita,* ed. Alfred Appel Jr. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), 375.
16. See Theodor Adorno, "Words from Abroad" and "On the Use of Foreign Words," in *Notes to Literature* vols. 1 and 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974).
17. Boyd, *Vladimir Nabokov: The Russian Years,* 504; and James Joyce, *Haveth Childers Everywhere* (Paris: H. Babou and J. Kahane, 1930).
18. Boyd, *Vladimir Nabokov: The Russian Years,* 514.
19. Ibid., 522.
20. Nabokov to Walter J. Minton, February 6, 1959, in *Selected Letters,* 282–83. Also see Boyd, *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years,* 379.
21. Dimitri Nabokov, "On a Book Entitled *The Enchanter,*" in Vladimir Nabokov, *The Enchanter,* trans. by Dimitri Nabokov (New York: Putnam, 1986), 125.
22. Boyd, *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years,* 169; also see Nabokov, "On a Book Entitled *Lolita,*" 314.

23. Nabokov, *Strong Opinions* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), 15. Nabokov made this comment during a BBC Television interview in July 1962, conducted by Peter Duval-Smith and Christopher Burstall, filmed in Zermatt.
24. Nabokov to Pascal Covici, Nov. 12, 1951, in *Selected Letters,* 127–28.
25. Boyd, *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years,* 170.
26. See Vernon Lee, "A Wicked Voice," in *Hauntings* (London: Heinemann, 1890) for her use of the figure of the culture ghost. Nabokov described being under *Lolita*'s spell in his correspondence; see Nabokov to Katharine White, September 29, 1953, in *Selected Letters,* 140.
27. Boyd, *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years,* 225.
28. See Charles Carrington's catalogue "Bibliotheca Arcana" (1899) in *Album* 7, a collection of clandestine book catalogues, Private Case Collection (Cup.354.g.48), British Library.
29. Boyd, *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years,* 261. My graduate student Philip Pistruga brought Nabokov's treatment of his typescript to my attention.
30. *Life International,* April 13, 1959, 63–69.
31. Nabokov, *The Annotated Lolita,* 5–8. All subsequent references to *Lolita* are from Appel's annotated edition. Vivian Darkbloom is Clare Quilty's mistress in the novel; on Nabokov's use of pseudonyms and anagrams for himself, see Appel's note, 325.
32. Nabokov, *The Annotated Lolita,* 310.
33. Ibid., 42, 50, 95.
34. Ibid., 50, 131, 228. The phrase *la pomme de sa canne* is annotated, to keep the "dirty pun" in play, as: "French; the round knob of a cane."
35. Ibid., 11, 186.
36. Ibid., 111.
37. Ibid., 310–11; also see 34.
38. Ibid., 17–18.
39. *Memoirs of a Well-Known Woman of Intrigue* (London: Printed for J. Ridgeway, [c. 1885]); and *Confessions of Madame Vestris* ([London]: Printed for the New Villon Society, 1891). For information on these titles and many others like them see Peter Mendes, *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English, 1800–1930: A Bibliographical Study* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993), 144–45, 207–8.
40. Nabokov, *The Annotated Lolita,* 62, 176, 302.
41. Ibid., 49.
42. Ibid., 278, 300, 428–29. Also see Donatien Alphonse François de Sade, *La Nouvelle Justine, ou les Malheurs de la vertu, suivie de l'Histoire de Juliette, sa soeur* (En Hollande: n.p., 1797); and *The Perfumed Garden for the Soul's Delectation* (Paris and Benares: The Kamashastra Society [Carrington], 1907).
43. See Appel's note in *The Annotated Lolita,* 325–26.
44. Raymond Williams, *The Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists* (London: Verso, 1989), 44.
45. Nabokov to Ivan Obolensky, November 5, 1957, in *Selected Letters,* 231–32.
46. Nabokov to Katharine White, September 29, 1953, in *Selected Letters,* 140. For Nabokov's arrangement with the *New Yorker,* see Boyd, *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years,* 73.

47. Nabokov to White, December 23, 1953, in *Selected Letters,* 142–43. Nabokov finished writing *Lolita* on December 6, 1953; see Boyd, *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years,* 226.
48. Nabokov to James Laughlin, February 3, 1954, in *Selected Letters,* 144–45.
49. Vera Nabokov to Laughlin, July 4, 1954, in *Selected Letters,* 146.
50. Nabokov to Wallace Brockway, March 18, 1954, in *Selected Letters,* 145.
51. Nabokov to Roger W. Straus Jr., October 15, 1954, in *Selected Letters,* 152.
52. Nabokov to Jason Epstein, November 3, 1954, in *Selected Letters,* 153–54.
53. See for example, Nabokov to Philip Rahv, July 13, 1955, in *Selected Letters,* 172–73.
54. Nabokov to Brockway, July 15, 1954, in *Selected Letters,* 146–47.
55. See "Grove Press," Erotica Producers Vertical Files (U.S., 20th Century, 1960–), The Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction, Library and Special Collections, Indiana University, Bloomington.
56. Nabokov to Laughlin, October 15, 1954, in *Selected Letters,* 152–53. Nabokov's family friend Elena Wilson counseled him to do the same: "Why shouldn't the book be published in England, or certainly in France and then come back here in a somewhat expurgated form and be read greedily?"; see Elena Wilson to Nabokov, November 30, 1954, in *The Nabokov-Wilson Letters: Correspondence between Vladimir Nabokov and Edmund Wilson,* 1940–1971, ed. Simon Karlinsky (New York; Harper & Row, 1979), 289.
57. Donald W. Faulkner, introduction to Malcolm Cowley, *Exile's Return: A Literary Odyssey of the* 1920*s,* ed. Donald W. Faulkner (1934, 1951; New York: Penguin, 1994), xxiv–xxv; also see Blower, *Americans in Paris,* 262–66.
58. Boyd, *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years,* 18–19.
59. Barney Rosset of Grove Press said in an interview that he would have published *Lolita,* even with a pseudonym: see St. Jorre, *The Good Ship Venus,* 128–29.
60. Nabokov, "'Lolita' and Mr. Girodias," *Evergreen Review* 45 (February 1967): 38.
61. Girodias, *Une Journée sur la terre: Les jardins d'Éros,* vol. 2 (Paris: Editions de la Différence, 1990), 293; and see St. Jorre, *The Good Ship Venus,* 158.
62. Girodias, *Une Journée sur la terre,* 294:

> "Chère Madame", dis-je, "vous savez que ma maison est, enfin, *spécialisée,* et votre ami le professeur Nabokov me semble affreusement respectable . . ."
>
> Doussia Ergaz semblait très amusée par ma réaction: "Oh, je comprends votre méfiance! Mais vous avez sûrement été amené à constater que presque tous les grands écrivains ont commis, tôt ou tard, un œuvre secrète. Prenez Pouchkine, par exemple."

63. Nabokov to Edward Wilson, February 19, 1955, in *The Nabokov-Wilson Letters,* 290–91. Also see Boyd, *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years,* 265.
64. Véra Nabokov to Walter J. Minton, September 19, 1957, in *Selected Letters,* 227.
65. St. Jorre, *The Good Ship Venus,* 131.
66. Nabokov to Girodias, July 6 and July 18, 1955, in *Selected Letters,* 166–67, 174–75.
67. Nabokov, "On a Book Entitled *Lolita,*" 318.

68. Nabokov, "Lolita and Mr. Girodias," 38.
69. Girodias, *Une Journée sur la terre,* 310.
70. See Eric Kahane's views on his brother's relationship with Nabokov in St. Jorre, *The Good Ship Venus,* 140; for the falling out between Joyce and Beach, see Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank,* 218–20.
71. See "Details and Communications between the Home Office and the French Central Authority in connection with the Olympia Press (1953–1956)," NA, HO [National Archives, Home Office] 302/4.
72. See Graham Greene, *Sunday Times,* December 25, 1955, 4; and John Gordon, *Sunday Express,* January 29, 1956, 6. Also see Boyd, *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years,* 295.
73. Harvey Breit, "In and Out of Books," *New York Times Book Review,* February 26, 1956, BR5.
74. Breit "In and Out of Books," *New York Times Book Review,* March 11, 1956, 26o.
75. Boyd, *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years,* 296.
76. Nabokov to Morris Bishop, March 6, 1956, in *Selected Letters,* 184; also see Boyd, *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years,* 267.
77. Nabokov to Pascal Covici, March 29, 1956, in, *Selected Letters,* 185.
78. Nabokov to Jason Epstein, October 1, 1956, in *Selected Letters,* 190–91.
79. See Boyd, *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years,* 300, 305; also see Nabokov to Maurice Girodias, August 3, 1957, in *Selected Letters,* 222–23.
80. Boyd, *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years,* 300. For the Nabokovs' characterization of Girodias, see, for example, correspondence in *Selected Letters,* 224, 227.
81. Nabokov to Girodias, March 5, 1957, in *Selected Letters,* 207–8.
82. Nabokov, "Lolita and Mr. Girodias," 38–39.
83. Boyd, *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years,* 300.
84. Nabokov to Girodias, November 15, 1956, in *Selected Letters,* 193–94.
85. Nabokov to Girodias, December 14, 1956, in *Selected Letters,* 196–97.
86. Despite his warnings, Nabokov was certain that Girodias was bilking him from his profits on blackmarket Olympia *Lolita*'s circulating in America and being sold for up to twenty dollars. See excerpts from an interview with Walter J. Minton's in St. Jorre, *The Good Ship Venus,* 149, 158–59.
87. Howard Nemerov, "Letter to the Editor," *New York Times,* October 30, 1956, 36; also see Nabokov to Howard Nemerov, November 9, 1956, in *Selected Letters,* 192. It was Epstein who had brought Nemerov's letter to Nabokov's attention.
88. Nabokov, *The Annotated Lolita,* 315, 318.
89. Nabokov to Girodias, February 12, 1957, in *Selected Letters,* 199–200; also see *L'Affaire "Lolita," défense de l'écrivain,* ed. Maurice Girodias (Paris: the Olympia Press, 1957).
90. Girodias to Katharine White, February 16, 1957, in *Selected Letters,* 201–2. For information on the Olympia Press books banned in France, see Boyd, *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years,* 301; and Patrick Kearney, *The Paris Olympia Press,* 333–35. Also see the following announcements about the French bans in *Le Journal officiel,* December 20, 1956, February 24, 1957, 2179; July 19, 1958, 6719; and May 26, 1959, 5318.
91. Nabokov to Epstein, February 20, 1957, in *Selected Letters,* 203–4.

92. Nabokov to Girodias, March 1, 1957, in *Selected Letters,* 204–5.
93. On Nabokov's decision not to get involved in "lolitigation," see Nabokov to Girodias, March 10, 1957, in *Selected Letters,* 210–11.
94. Nabokov to Girodias, March 5, 1957, in *Selected Letters,* 208.
95. Boyd, *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years,* 305.
96. Nabokov to Obolensky, March 23, 1957, in *Selected Letters,* 211–12.
97. Nabokov, "Lolita and Mr. Girodias," *Evergreen Review* 45 (February 1967): 37–41.
98. Nabokov to Girodias, May 14, 1957, in *Selected Letters,* 218–19.
99. Nabokov to Epstein, June 10, 1957, in *Selected Letters,* 219–20.
100. Nabokov to Obolensky, November 5, 1957, in *Selected Letters,* 231–32.
101. Nabokov to Obolensky, November 20, 1957, in *Selected Letters,* 235.
102. Nabokov to Minton, December 23, 1957, in *Selected Letters,* 237–38. On how Minton "discovered" *Lolita,* see St. Jorre, *The Good Ship Venus,* 148–49.
103. The French ban on *Lolita* was finally lifted by the Ministre de l'Intérieur on July 21, 1959.
104. Nabokov to Girodias, January 16, 1958, in *Selected Letters,* 246–47.
105. Nabokov to Minton, March 1, 1958, in *Selected Letters,* 249–50; also see St. Jorre, *The Good Ship Venus,* 150.
106. Nabokov to Minton, March 7 and April 23, 1958, in *Selected Letters,* 250–51, 256. The contract for the British rights also had a special clause that the British edition would be based on Putnam's edition, not Olympia's edition: see Nabokov to Max Reinhardt, January 26, 1959, in *Selected Letters,* 277–78.
107. See Putnam's *Lolita* advertisement in the *New York Times Book Review,* August 24, 1958, BR15.
108. Orville Prescott, "Books of the Times," *New York Times Book Review,* August 18, 1958, 17.
109. Minton to Nabokov, Aug. 18, 1958, in *Selected Letters,* 257.
110. Lewis Nichols, "In and Out of Books," *New York Times Book Review,* August 24, 1958, BR8.
111. St. Jorre, *The Good Ship Venus,* 150.
112. The Obscene Publications Act, 1959, 7 & 8 Eliz 2, c. 66. The revised statute included a literary merit defense and allowed for the testimony of expert witnesses. At the Weidenfeld and Nicolson launch party for *Lolita* at London's Ritz hotel, Nigel Nicolson received a call with an anonymous tip that the Director of Public Prosecutions would not prosecute the book; see Boyd, *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years,* 399. The British government had considered prosecuting the British edition of *Lolita* under the new act, but legal opinion advised against prosecution: "This book seems to me to be a serious attempt to describe, by imaginative (as distinct from clinical) writing, the psychological history of a man suffering from nympholepsy. The book does not appear to me to be salacious either in its general approach to this theme or in the particular descriptions of physical acts and attributes"; see LO memorandum in *Lolita,* October 27, 1959, NA, LO [Law Officers' department] 2/146.
113. St. Jorre, *The Good Ship Venus,* 151. Note that Nabokov also had trouble managing foreign translations of *Lolita:* the Swedish version emphasized the erotic aspects of the novel, confirming British suspicions about the

pornography of translation; see Boyd, *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years,* 316. Also see Vladimir Nabokov, *Lolita,* film, directed by Stanley Kubrick (1962; DVD, Warner Home Video, 1999).

114. Theodor Adorno, "On the Use of Foreign Words," 286.
115. D. H. Lawrence, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1960); D. H. Lawrence, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (New York: Grove Press, 1959); and Henry Miller, *The Tropic of Cancer* (New York: Grove Press, 1961).
116. Nabokov's letters to *Life International* are reproduced in *Selected Letters,* 287.
117. Henry Popkin, "The Famous and Infamous Wares of Monsieur Girodias," *New York Times,* April 17, 1960, BR4.
118. On Nabokov's response to Popkin's article, see *Selected Letters,* 312–13.
119. Nabokov, "Olympic Game," *Playboy,* July 1961, 10. Nabokov wrote a similar letter to *Esquire* after it published an article by one of Girodias's writers that suggested that Nabokov had visited the publisher's Paris office and climbed up its rotting steps. Nabokov wrote: "I never climbed those rotting steps, I never visited the Olympia Press Office, and I never met Mr. Girodias." *Esquire* did not publish his letter; see Nabokov to Byron Dobell, April 9, 1965, in *Selected Letters,* 370–71; and Marilyn Meeske, "Memoirs of a Female Pornographer," *Esquire,* April 1965, 112–15.
120. Girodias, "Lolita, Nabokov, and I," *Evergreen Review* 37 (1965): 44–47 and 89–91.
121. Nabokov, "Lolita and Mr. Girodias," 41; also see Nabokov to Melvin J. Lasky, March 3, 1966, in *Selected Letters,* 388–89.
122. Maurice Girodias, "Letter to the Editor," *Evergreen Review* 47 (June 1967): 18.
123. Boyd, *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years,* 394–95; and St. Jorre, *The Good Ship Venus,* 156–57.
124. Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 42.
125. Nabokov's contract with Girodias was finally declared void in court, on account of Girodias's bankruptcy in 1967; see Boyd, *Vladimir Nabokov: The American Years,* 301, 525.
126. Walter Benjamin, "On the Concept of History," in *Selected Writings, 1938–1940,* vol. 4, ed. Michael W. Jennings and Howard Eiland (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), 389–400, especially 390–91.

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From 1890 to 1960, some of Anglo-America's most heated cultural contests over books, sex, and censorship were staged not at home, but abroad in the City of Light. Paris, with its extraordinary liberties of expression, became a special place redefining the margins of sexual culture and literary censorship, and many English language "dirty books" circulated through expatriate publishing networks. Colette Colligan explores the political and literary dynamics that gave rise to this expatriate cultural flourishing, which included everything from Victorian pornography to the most daring and controversial modernist classics.

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COLETTE COLLIGAN is associate professor of English at Simon Fraser University and author of *The Traffic in Obscenity from Byron to Beardsley: Sexuality and Exoticism in Nineteenth-Century Print Culture.*

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